

WICKLIFF.



Engrav'd for Ruder's History of England

597. a. 1

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
DESCENT of the ROMANS,
TO THE
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.
INSCRIBED TO
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of Jesus College, Oxford.

HISTORY is philosophy teaching by examples.
Bolingbroke from Dion. Hal.

VOL. XV.

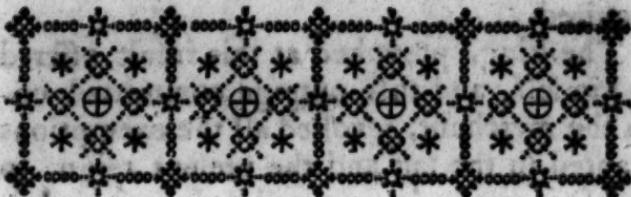
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THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY of RICHARD II.
continued. A. D. 1392.

WHILE the great council was fitting at Nottingham, a dangerous insurrection happened in London. Richard, whom his profusion and want of economy often reduced to extreme poverty, had attempted to borrow a thousand pounds of the citizens of London, who not only refused to comply with his request, but even attacked and maltreated a Lombard merchant, who

offered to supply his majesty with the sum required.

The king, provoked at this insult offered to himself, and this outrage committed upon the merchant, revoked all the exemptions granted in the last and the present reign, to excuse individuals from public offices in cities, counties, and corporations ; and the mayor and the sheriffs were summoned to appear before the council at Nottingham, where they, and all the inhabitants, were found guilty of a riot, and obliged to engage in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds, as a security for their good behaviour. In the mean time they were deprived of their offices, and committed to custody ; and Sir Edward Dalyngrygge was appointed warden of the city ; yet they were soon restored to their liberty, and reinstated in their ancient form of government.

But the spirit of discord and sedition which this tumult had excited, was not so soon appeased. The Londoners were strongly suspected of being favourably inclined to the doctrine of Wickliff, and were of consequence exposed to the ill offices of the clergy, whom, on that account, they mortally hated.

A baker having been abused, and robbed of a loaf, by a servant belonging to the bishop of Salisbury, the common people took

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the alarm ; and surrounding the prelate's palace in Fleet-street, would have reduced it to ashes, had not the magistrates interposed, and prevented the commission of such a violent outrage. The bishop complaining to the king of this insult, Richard issued out a writ of oyer and terminer, to sit at Eaton, and try the criminals ; and the dukes of Gloucester and York presided at the trial.

The Londoners being again found guilty, were fined in the sum of three thousand marks, their liberties seized into the king's hands, their sheriffs and aldermen displaced, and Sir Baldwin Radyngton constituted warden of the city. The citizens humbled by the loss of their franchises, and dreading the further effects of the king's displeasure, implored the queen's intercession with great humility, and obtained a pardon at her request. Richard and his consort made a public entry into the city, amidst the acclamations of the people, who presented them with ten thousand pounds and two gold crowns, in consequence of which the fine was remitted, the bond cancelled, their liberties restored, and their charters confirmed.

The parliament, which met on the twentieth day of January,* seem to have postponed the consideration of a treaty with

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France,

* A. D. 1393.

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France, because Charles, having been seized with a disorder in his brain, was utterly incapable of managing the affairs of his kingdom, which continued in a state of perplexity and confusion, until the regency was committed to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

The commons voted a considerable supply, in case a war should break out with France or Scotland, or the king should undertake an expedition in person; for, as they knew his prodigality and profusion, they did not think it prudent to intrust him with too much money.

Several laws had been made in the four preceeding parliaments, against the usurpations of the Roman pontiffs in England. The pope's collector had been obliged to swear, that he would be true to the king and his crown, and keep his laws and rights with the utmost fidelity; that he would do nothing of his own accord, nor execute any bulls or mandates from his holiness, prejudicial to the royal authority, or inconsistent with the laws of the kingdom; that he would not publish any of the pope's letters, without having first imparted their contents to the council; nor send any money or plate out of the kingdom, without a special licence from the king or his council.

Every

Every person was subjected to the penalties of a premunire, who should go or send out of England, without the king's leave, to procure or purchase for himself any ecclesiastical benefice: the statutes against provisors were revived, and a stop was put to the collection of a tenth, imposed by the pope on the clergy of England. The archbishops and prelates had issued mandates for raising this tax, but were ordered to revoke them, and refund the money which had been collected; and the agent was discharged, on pain of forfeiting life and limb, from continuing to levy the imposition.

The pope, informed of these proceedings, sent over a nuncio, to procure the repeal or suspension of the statute against provisors; but all he could obtain was, a permission of collating to the benefices that should fall vacant in his own court. This permission he grossly abused, in issuing bulls for translating bishops to poorer sees, without their own consent, and then bestowing these vacancies upon such as would purchase them at the highest rate.

In this parliament the commons inveighed bitterly against the presumption of the pope, in daring to translate English prelates to foreign sees, and from one bishopric to another, without the knowledge and consent of the king, and even of the bishops so translated:

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lated: a practice by which the statutes of the kingdom would be rendered ineffectual; the lieges of his majesty's council removed out of the realm against their own inclinations, and the treasure of the nation exported; so that it would soon become destitute of wealth and council, to its utter impoverishment and destruction: and thus the crown of England, which had always been free and independent of every earthly sovereign, would be made subject to the pope, and the statutes of the realm defeated and eluded, to the disgrace of the king, his crown and royalty, and the ruin of the whole kingdom. They declared they would support his majesty with their lives and fortunes against all processes in the court of Rome, about rights of patronage, bulls, and mandates, and all attempts against his crown and royalty.

The same declaration was made by the lords spiritual and temporal, though the prelates protested, that they did not mean to deny the pope's canonical authority; and the famous statute of prelature was passed against all that purchased or solicited, in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any translation of bishops, processes and sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any thing else, to the prejudice of the king, his crown, regality, or kingdom. Whoever violated this statute, was put out of the king's protection;

tection, forfeited his lands and effects, was to be imprisoned and ransomed at the king's pleasure, if found; and if he absconded, was to be out-lawed and banished the kingdom. These precautions had such an excellent effect, that during the remaining part of Richard's reign, few instances were to be seen of papal usurpation; nor did any attempt of that kind succeed without the warrant of a royal licence.

After the conclusion of this session, the king constituted the duke of Lancaster his lieutenant in Picardy; and gave a commission to him and his brother the duke of Gloucester, to treat with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy about the prolongation of the truce. The conferences were held at Leninghen, between Calais and Boulogne, and lasted nine days, when it was agreed, that the truce should be continued till Michaelmas in the following year; but so many difficulties occurred in concluding a final peace, that they were obliged to consult their respective courts, before they could proceed in their negotiation.

Both courts were heartily tired of the war and extremely desirous of an accommodation: the treaty was therefore renewed, and some progress made towards a final agreement. The French were willing to give back Bigorre, the Agenois, and Perigort; but

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but would not yield Reuergne, Quercy, the Limousin, Ponthieu, or any part of Guisnes, but what was actually in the possession of the English. Richard's plenipotentiaries would not allow Calais to be mentioned; but with regard to Cherbourg and Brest, it was proposed that the king of France should pay a certain sum of money to Richard, for the restitution of these places to the king of Navarre, and the duke of Brittany.

All the articles were nearly settled, when Charles, who resided at Abbeville, being seized with a return of his malady, the conferences were interrupted: but they were renewed in the month of September, by which time he had recovered the use of his reason; and the dispute about Cherbourg being finally compromised, orders were given for delivering it up immediately to the king of Navarre.

The other articles being adjusted, a plan of the treaty was laid before the parliament, which met on the twenty-seventh day of January,* when the proceedings of the plenipotentiaries were approved by both houses: but they earnestly desired that the king would not pay liege homage; that there should be a saving of the liberty of his person, and the crown of England; that he and his heirs might



HOWARD Earl of ARUNDEL



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

RICHARD II. II

might revive their title to the crown of France, if the articles of peace should be broken by Charles; and that some means should be found for preventing the future confiscation of Guienne. At the same time the commons declared, by the mouth of Sir John Bussy, their speaker, that they would not agree to give their advice concerning the conclusion of a peace, unless these preliminaries were previously settled.

This declaration occasioned a debate among the lords; and some violent altercations ensued between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Arundel, who, as rivals in power and influence, had long bore a mortal hatred to each other.

While the duke was absent in Picardy, the people of Cheshire and Lancashire, who were subject to the king's two uncles, rose in arms against their officers, and being headed by Sir Thomas Talbot, threatened to destroy all the estates belonging to the duke of Lancaster, who returning suddenly to England to suppress this tumult, was informed that the earl of Arundel had remained in the neighbourhood, at his castle of Holt, without endeavouring to quell the insurrection. Provoked at this indifference, he charged the earl with having connived at the outrages they had committed; but he vindicated himself in such a manner as gave entire

entire satisfaction, not only to the impartial world, but even to the duke himself.

Incensed, however, at this affront offered to his honour, he resolved to be revenged upon his adversary, and accused the duke in his turn, of being too familiar with his sovereign, of obliging the king and his retinue to wear his colour and livery, of over-awing the members of the council so as to hinder them from speaking their real sentiments; of having obtained, by unfair means, a grant of Guienne, and an exorbitant sum of money for his expedition into Spain; and for negligence and misconduct in the management of the late treaty.

Richard, who hated Arundel on account of his popularity, espoused the cause of his uncle: he declared, that the whole charge was false and frivolous; that he indulged the duke in no familiarity but what his consanguinity and affection might be supposed to authorize; that he wore his uncle's livery as a mark of that affection; that the grant of Guienne was made with the consent of parliament, which had likewise voted him twenty-three thousand marks towards the expences of his Spanish expedition; that the addition of twenty thousand marks, which he afterwards received, was less than he deserved, considering the relief of Brest, and other important services; and finally, that his

his proceedings in conducting the treaty were perfectly agreeable to the instructions sent him by the king and council.

This declaration of the sovereign effectually overturned the impeachment; the house passed a vote acquitting the duke of the crimes laid to his charge; and the earl was obliged to ask his pardon in full parliament.

Then the duke of Lancaster, as count palatine of that dutchy, and the duke of Gloucester, as lord chief justice of Chester, concurred in desiring the king and lords to give judgment against Sir Thomas Talbot and others, for having formed a conspiracy to take away their lives, and levied forces for that purpose. The king, with the advice and consent of the lords, declared the crime to be high-treason, and issued orders for arresting Talbot and bringing him to immediate trial: if he could not be found by the sheriff, it was determined, that he should be cited to appear at next Easter-term, in the court of King's-Bench, on pain of being deemed guilty of treason, and of having forfeited his lands and chattels; and that all who afforded him shelter or protection, should be subjected to the same penalty.

This affair being finished, the king declared his resolution of going to Ireland in person; and in order to defray the expence

of that expedition, he was gratified with an aid on wool, wine, and other merchandize. The parliament had no sooner broke up, than the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester returned to France, in order to finish the treaty of peace. The conferences were again opened at Lenninghen ; but the dispute about the superiority of Guienne prevented it from taking effect, though the truce was continued for five years ; and Scotland was comprehended in this agreement.

While the duke of Lancaster was detained abroad by this negociation, his own wife Constance of Castile died in England ; and her death was soon followed by that of the queen, who was sincerely regretted by the whole nation, as a humane, sensible and compassionate princess ; from her many excellent virtues she obtained the name of the Good Queen Anne ; and the king was so deeply affected with her death, that, for some time, he secluded himself from all company and conversation ; nor could he ever bear the sight of the palace of Sheen, where she expired.

In order to dispel his melancholy, he resolved to go over to Ireland, where the English affairs were but in a very indifferent situation. This was chiefly owing to the misconduct of the English noblemen, who, though

though possessed of large estates in that kingdom, chose rather to reside in their own country; by which means Ireland was left almost entirely defenceless; and the old Irish septs did not fail to embrace such a favourable opportunity of retrieving their possessions.

These they not only recovered by force of arms, but wasted all the rest of the country that belonged to the English in such a manner, that, whereas Edward III. had drawn a considerable revenue from that kingdom, Richard, on the contrary, was obliged to expend about thirty thousand marks yearly, in order to preserve the small portion of territory that still remained under his dominion.

To remedy these evils, a proclamation was published, requiring all the absent proprietors to repair to Ireland by the eighth day of September, and there to expect the king's arrival. The military tenants of the crown were ordered to assemble; the Cinque-Ports were enjoined to furnish their armament of forty-seven ships, well manned and provided; and as the duke of Lancaster had determined to go over to Guienne, his brother the duke of York was appointed guardian during the king's absence.

All things being got ready for the purpose of expedition, Richard set out for Wales, at-

tended by the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Marche, Nottingham, and Rutland ; and embarking about Michaelmas at Milford-Haven, landed in Ireland with an army of thirty thousand men.

The natives, terrified at such a prodigious armament, either took shelter in their woods and fastnesses, or voluntarily submitted to the English monarch, who treated such of them, as owned his sovereignty, with great humanity and politeness.

He not only forgave them for their past offences, but even bestowed considerable pensions upon some of their principal chiefs. The earl of Nottingham was empowered to receive, in the king's name, the submission and homage of all the Irish in Leinster ; and they gave bonds for their good behaviour.

O Neal, who either had, or pretended to have, a paramount authority over the other princes of Ireland, made a tender of his homage to Richard, and swore fealty to him at Drogheda ; though he still reserved to himself a kind of sovereign power ; and Richard was so prudent as to indulge him in this particular. His example was soon followed by O Hanlon, O Donnel, Macmahon, and other princes, who undertook for themselves and their whole clans, that they

they should live in peace and harmony with the English.

Richard resolving to keep his Christmas in Dublin, invited all the Irish chiefs to a grand entertainment in that city, where he not only entertained them with equal magnificence and politeness, but even bestowed upon them the order of knighthood; and exerted his utmost endeavours to make them adopt the English customs, habit, and way of living.

He afterwards convoked a parliament in the same city, in order to redress their grievances; and all those officers, who were found guilty of injustice or maleversation, were severely punished and deprived of their places: in a word, he behaved with such humanity and discretion, as soon gained him the esteem and affection of the natives, the greatest part of whom peaceably submitted to his government.

During Richard's abode in Ireland, the duke of York, as guardian of the realm, summoned a parliament at Westminster in the month of January;* and the duke of Gloucester was sent over to take care of the interest of the crown in this assembly, which was so highly satisfied with the king's proceedings in Ireland, that they granted

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him a considerable supply, in order to enable him to complete the reduction of that country. A nuncio from the pope attended at this session, to solicit a repeal of the statute against provisors; but all his endeavours proved abortive.

A remonstrance was likewise presented by the Wickliffites, who were now distinguished by the name of Lollards, and were become so bold and numerous, as to write, preach, and declaim openly against the established religion.

The author of this sect was one John Wickliff, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, who, about the latter end of Edward the third's reign, began to spread the doctrine of reformation by his sermons and discourses; and soon gained a number of proselytes among men of all ranks and condition. He seems to have been a man of parts and learning, and has the honour of being the first man in Europe, who dared to question the truth of those tenets, which had been held for certain and indisputable during so many ages.

Wickliff himself, as well as his disciples, was distinguished by a remarkable austerity of life and manners; a circumstance common to almost all those who ventured to propagate new doctrines, both because men who attract the attention of

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the public, and expose themselves to the odium of great multitudes, are obliged to be extremely guarded in their conduct ; and because few, who have a strong propensity to pleasure or business, will engage in such a difficult and laborious undertaking.

He maintained that the bread and wine in the Eucharist was not the real substance, but only the emblem of Christ's body : that the church of Rome has not a supreme authority over all other churches ; and that Christ did not give greater power to Peter than to the rest of the apostles : that a lay-patron may lawfully and meritoriously divest a degenerate church of her temporalities : that the gospel is sufficient for regulating the life and morals of every Christian ; and that all other rules of sanctity add no more perfection to the gospel than whiteness adds to a wall : that neither the pope nor any Christian prelate, has a right to imprison or punish delinquents ; but that every individual should be allowed to do what he pleased, until he is apprehended by the civil magistrate. The doctrine in favour of lay-patrons was so agreeable to the nobility in general, who wanted to humble the clergy, that he soon numbered, among his converts, some of the most powerful lords of the kingdom.

Supported

Supported and encouraged by their protection, Wickliff and his followers publickly attacked the morals and doctrines of the clergy : they affixed libels to the doors of the churches ; and a writing, containing the articles of their charge, was now brought into parliament by Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Richard Story, and other members, who had embraced their principles.

The archbishop of York and the bishop of London, startled at such a desperate attack upon their order, immediately repaired to Dublin, where they endeavoured to persuade the king, that the Lollards were equally disaffected to the civil and religious establishment of their country ; and Richard, who was naturally of a weak and jealous disposition, was so imprudent as to abandon the fair prospect of subduing Ireland, and returned to England, in order to suppress these dangerous heretics. He had no sooner arrived than he sent for the chief of the Lollards, and threatened them with instant death if they should persist in their errors ; and the chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all those who were suspected of favouring their tenets.

The next affair that engaged the attention of Richard and his council, was of no less consequence to the peace of the nation.

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The queen having died without issue, those, who really wished well to their native country, began to be anxious about the succession; for, though Richard, before he set out on the Irish expedition, is said to have declared Edmund Mortimer,* son of Roger Mortimer earl of Marche, presumptive heir of the crown; yet, had the king died without issue, the kingdom would in all probability have been involved in a civil war, by the ambition and intrigues of the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester.

In order to prevent such a fatal calamity, Richard was persuaded to engage in a second marriage; and the council conceiving that Isabel, the eldest daughter of the French king, would be a suitable spouse for the English monarch, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of St. David's, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham, the lord Beaumont, and William le Scroop, chamberlain of the household, were sent ambassadors to the court of France, to propose a match between Richard and that princess: they were enjoined to demand a very large portion, and empowered to offer her a jointure of ten thousand marks a year; and, after this matter should

* He was the only son of Roger Mortimer, son of Mortimer earl of Marche, who married Philippa, the sole daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.

should have been settled, they were to endeavour to effect a marriage between Isabel's younger sister, and the earl of Rutland, for whom Richard had a particular regard.

Then the council proceeded to determine a dispute between the duke of Lancaster and the natives of Guienne, from whom he had not met with such a favourable reception as he expected. The prelates, nobility, and citizens, had unanimously agreed to shew him that respect and civility which was due to the brother of the black prince, and the uncle of king Richard; but never to acknowledge him as their lawful sovereign.

The duke, who was a man of great art and address, exerted his utmost efforts, in order to persuade them to own his authority, in obedience to the patent of Richard and the decree of the English parliament. He flattered them with the hopes of a mild and gentle administration, and many other advantages: he caressed and cajoled the noblemen of the greatest interest, and even endeavoured to overcome their reluctance, by making them very considerable presents.

But all his attempts, of this nature, proved ineffectual; and as he had only five hundred men at arms, and one thousand archers, a force by no means sufficient to compel them to a submission, the dispute was referred to the decision of the king and council.

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The cities of Bourdeaux and Bayonne sent over deputies, to procure, if possible, a repeal of the grant; and the duke dispatched John de Greilly, natural son of the famous Capital de Bouche, to defend his cause at the court of England. Both parties were heard in a great council of the prelates and nobility, assembled at Sheen for that purpose.

The official of Bourdeaux insisted, at great length, upon the privileges of the Gascons, with which this grant was altogether incompatible; and represented, in such a strong and striking light, the many inconveniences that would arise from it to the crown of England, that the members were fully satisfied of the truth of what he advanced, and generally disposed to grant the request of his constituents.

But the duke of Gloucester, who considered the presence of his brother as a check upon his own ambition, was extremely desirous of keeping him at a distance from England; and therefore exerted his utmost endeavours, in order to prevent the repeal of the grant. He was seconded by his nephew, the earl of Derby, who naturally supported the interest of his father; but finding the other members were of a different opinion, he withdrew abruptly, flattery-

ing himself that they would not come to any determination in his absence.

In this, however, he was greatly deceived ; for he was no sooner gone, than they spoke their sentiments with great freedom, and at last persuaded the king to recal the duke of Lancaster from Guienne, from whence he accordingly returned in the beginning of the next year, and resigned his grant into the hands of his majesty.*

In the mean time the English ambassadors, arriving at Paris, laid their proposals before the French council ; and, after some difficulties, which were started by the dukes of Berry and Orleans, had been removed, it was unanimously agreed that Richard should marry the princess Isabel, and receive with her a portion of eight hundred thousand franks in gold, at yearly payments ; that he should renounce all claim to the crown of France, that might arise from this marriage ; that the truce should be prolonged for five and twenty years ; and that the king of France should assist him with his whole power against his rebellious subjects.

These points being settled, the young princess, though only in the eighth year of her age, was entitled queen of France, and affianced

affianced by the earl of Nottingham, as Richard's proxy. Richard determined to go over to France, and espouse the princess in person ; and, accordingly, the greatest part of the summer was spent in making preparations for that journey.

But he had another, and a less justifiable motive, for crossing the channel ; which, however, he endeavoured to conceal under a very plausible pretext. He alledged, that he wanted to inspect and repair the fortifications of Calais ; but his real design was to concert a plan with the French court, for overcoming all opposition in England ; and particularly for humbling the pride of the duke of Gloucester, who was equally averse from the truce and the marriage.

This nobleman, however, was soon reconciled to both these articles, by a present of fifty thousand nobles, which Richard promised to make to himself ; and a grant of the earldom of Rochester, with an estate of two thousand pounds a year, which he engaged to bestow upon his son Humphry ; and he even accompanied his sovereign to the Continent.

The two kings met under a magnificent pavilion, between Ardres and Calais, where every thing was settled to their mutual satisfaction. The marriage being solemnized at Calais by the archbishop of Canterbury,

Richard immediately embarked for England with his young bride; and, on the seventh day of January,* her coronation was celebrated at Westminster, with great pomp and splendour.

The king having thus carried his two favourite points, entirely forgot the magnificent promises he had made to his uncle the duke of Gloucester, who was so highly incensed at this breach of faith, that, being no longer restrained by his avarice, the only passion that could stifle his public spirit, he resolved to make Richard feel the whole weight of his resentment; and this he hoped to do with the greater ease, as his brother, the duke of Lancaster, the only nobleman who could oppose his measures, had lately lost his popularity and influence, by marrying an obscure foreigner, named Catharine Swinford, and who had already bore to him four illegitimate children.

He engaged in an association with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and with the archbishop of Canterbury, who was brother to Arundel; and these confederates began to concert a plan for redressing the grievances of the nation, and reforming the government of the realm. The earls of Nottingham and Derby were embarked in

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* A. D. 1397.

the same undertaking, but not so deeply as the other four, who had actually resolved to carry their scheme into execution at all events, should they even be obliged to have recourse to force of arms.

They had rendered themselves extremely popular, and gained a vast number of partisans, by their warm and vehement declamations against the corruption and prodigality of the court, the folly and fickleness of the king himself, the great danger of losing Calais, and the intolerable load of taxes and imposts with which the nation was burdened. These insinuations made a deep impression upon the people in general, particularly upon the citizens of London, who being well assured that the greatest part of the revenue was consumed in riot, revel, and debauchery, repaired to Sheen, where the king then resided, and demanded an immediate abatement of the duties upon merchandise. The king desired the dukes of York and Lancaster to assure them, that their petition should be considered in a council which was to meet in a month at Westminster.

That council, however, was never held; and the citizens were highly incensed, when they found how grossly they had been deceived. Nor was it long before Richard

gave his subjects a fresh cause of complaint ; for his ordinary revenue not being sufficient to support his extravagance, he extorted loans from the trading towns and rich abbeys of the kingdom, without the least intention to reimburse the lenders.

In a word, the spirit of discontent and disaffection was become so prevalent, that one Haxey, a member of the parliament which was now assembled, presented a bill complaining of the excessive number of prelates, ladies, and flattering sycophants maintained at court, and desiring that the charges of the household might be retrenched.

The king, enraged at this insult offered to his dignity, insisted upon the culprit's being brought to a trial ; and, notwithstanding the intercession of the commons, who professed their sorrow for this unguarded step, and promised never to be guilty of the like presumption for the future, he was shamefully condemned by the lords to suffer death as a traitor.

But his life was saved by the sacred character which he bore ; for, as he happened to be a clergyman, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other prelates, prevailed upon the king to deliver him into their hands ; and, in return for this favour, the parliament

parliament continued the duty on wool, and even allowed him to recall from exile Sir Robert Belknap, Sir John Holt, and Sir William Burgh, three of the judges who had been banished to Ireland for the opinions of Nottingham.

At the same time the dignity of earl mareschal was confirmed to Thomas de Mowbray, and the heirs male of his body; and the earldom of Somerset was bestowed upon John de Beaufort, natural son of the duke of Lancaster, by Catharine Swinford.

Richard was now surrounded by a set of wicked, worthless, and abandoned favourites, who daily filled his head with jealousies and suspicions of his uncle the duke of Gloucester. They insinuated that that nobleman was the original cause of all the opposition he met with from his subjects; that his patriotism was only a cloak to conceal his turbulent spirit; and that he had formed a design to depose his nephew, and place himself upon the throne.

A weak mind is always suspicious; and a person of headstrong passions is never scrupulous about the means he employs to compass his ends. Richard at once believed their suggestions, and resolved to ensure his own safety, by the destruction of his uncle; and the method he took to accomplish his

purpose, was equally base, cruel, and unjust.

Under a pretence of hunting in Essex, he paid a visit to his uncle at Pleshy, where he was received with great hospitality and kindness, both by the duke and his wife. During supper, he took occasion to tell his uncle that he wanted to consult him about some affairs of importance, and begged he would accompany him to London, where a council was to be held in the morning.

The duke, suspecting no harm, ordered his horses to be prepared, and immediately set out with his nephew, attended only by four or five domestics. As soon as they came into Epping-forest, Richard, clapping spurs to his horse, rode off at full gallop; and Gloucester was instantly surrounded by armed men, who conveyed him to the river, and put him on board a ship, which immediately set sail, and arrived next day at Calais.

The duke's confederates, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, lord Cobham, Sir John Cheney, and others, who had been also invited to the council, were next day arrested at London; and an appeal for treason was brought against them by several lords in the court interest, though they were indulged with a few weeks to prepare their answers.

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As for the duke of Gloucester, it was not Richard's intention to allow him the benefit of a trial. He knew that nothing of a treasonable nature could be alledged against him ; and as he was determined, at all events, to dispatch him out of the way, he sent a private commission to four desperate ruffians at Calais, who smothered the unhappy nobleman between two feather-beds on a pallet ; then they stripped the body, and, laying it under the bed-cloaths, pretended that he had died in the night of an apoplexy.

Such was the miserable and untimely end of Thomas Wodestock, duke of Gloucester, who, though perhaps chargeable with avarice and ambition, was, nevertheless, brave, open, sincere, and a hearty well-wisher to the constitution of his country.

The dukes of Lancaster and York were no sooner informed of the cruel murder of their brother, than they hastened up to London with a strong body of forces, threatening to revenge his death upon the king and his counsellors.

Richard, however, had taken care to provide against the impending danger : he had collected an army of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, which was more than sufficient to defeat any attempt that might be made by the discontented noblemen ; and

purpose, was equally base, cruel, and unjust.

Under a pretence of hunting in Essex, he paid a visit to his uncle at Pleshy, where he was received with great hospitality and kindness, both by the duke and his wife. During supper, he took occasion to tell his uncle that he wanted to consult him about some affairs of importance, and begged he would accompany him to London, where a council was to be held in the morning.

The duke, suspecting no harm, ordered his horses to be prepared, and immediately set out with his nephew, attended only by four or five domestics. As soon as they came into Epping-forest, Richard, clapping spurs to his horse, rode off at full gallop; and Gloucester was instantly surrounded by armed men, who conveyed him to the river, and put him on board a ship, which immediately set sail, and arrived next day at Calais.

The duke's confederates, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, lord Cobham, Sir John Cheney, and others, who had been also invited to the council, were next day arrested at London; and an appeal for treason was brought against them by several lords in the court interest, though they were indulged with a few weeks to prepare their answers.

As

As for the duke of Gloucester, it was not Richard's intention to allow him the benefit of a trial. He knew that nothing of a treasonable nature could be alledged against him ; and as he was determined, at all events, to dispatch him out of the way, he sent a private commission to four desperate ruffians at Calais, who smothered the unhappy nobleman between two feather-beds on a pallet ; then they stripped the body, and, laying it under the bed-cloaths, pretended that he had died in the night of an apoplexy.

Such was the miserable and untimely end of Thomas Wodestock, duke of Gloucester, who, though perhaps chargeable with avarice and ambition, was, nevertheless, brave, open, sincere, and a hearty well-wisher to the constitution of his country.

The dukes of Lancaster and York were no sooner informed of the cruel murder of their brother, than they hastened up to London with a strong body of forces, threatening to revenge his death upon the king and his counsellors.

Richard, however, had taken care to provide against the impending danger : he had collected an army of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, which was more than sufficient to defeat any attempt that might be made by the discontented noblemen ; and

and he had expended large sums of money in securing a majority in the ensuing parliament. At the same time as he knew, that the duke of York was entirely guided by Lancaster, and that this last was open to flattery and ambition, he employed his favourite Rutland to divert his uncles from the execution of their purpose ; and that young nobleman's endeavours were crowned with success.

He represented to them the horrors and calamities of a civil war ; insinuated that Richard would be obliged to apply for succour to his father-in-law the king of France, who, under pretence of assisting him, might possibly enslave the country : he observed, that though Gloucester's fate was deplorable, it could not be altered : assured them that the king was extremely sorry for that unhappy event ; and finally engaged in his majesty's name, that, if they would lay aside all thoughts of revenge, and agree to a hearty reconciliation, they should preside in his councils, and be entrusted with the sole direction of public affairs.

It must be owned, to the dishonour of these two noblemen, that ambition was their ruling passion : they readily listened to the proposal of Rutland, dismissed their followers, and all differences between the king

king and them were for the present compromised.

The parliament had no sooner met, than it began to exhibit strong marks of its venality and corruption; of its utter disregard for the rights and privileges of the people, and of its blind and implicit obedience to the dictates of Richard and his favourites.

The commission and statute made in the tenth year of this reign was repealed, as being extorted from the king by force, and prejudicial to his royal prerogative; and any attempt to procure the like commission for the future was declared to be high treason.

The general pardons granted to the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Arundel and Warwick, in the eleventh year of the king's reign, and even the particular pardon afterwards passed in favour of Arundel at Windsor, were revoked and annulled as having been obtained by compulsion. And the commons declared that it was their intention, with his majesty's leave, to prosecute any person or persons as often as they should think proper during this session of parliament. Nor was it long before they carried their design into execution.

They

They immediately preferred an impeachment against Thomas Fitzalan archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, in which they accused him of having concurred with the other discontented noblemen in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty; but as he was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was obliged to be content with a sentence, by which he was condemned to perpetual exile, his temporalities seized, and his goods confiscated.

Nor were the lords less complaisant than the commons. A charge was exhibited against the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick and Thomas Mortimer, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerset, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the lords Spencer and Scroop, accusing them of the same crimes which had been imputed to the archbishop, and of having appeared in arms against their sovereign.

The duke of Gloucester, though dead, was declared a traitor to his king and country, his estate forfeited, and his blood attainted.

The earl of Arundel being brought to the bar, confined his whole defence to the general and particular pardon which had been

been granted him by his majesty; but both these having been repealed in the present session, he was found guilty of high-treason, condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and all his estate real and personal was confiscated.

His sentence, however, was mitigated into simple decapitation, which he soon after suffered to the great sorrow of the whole nation, who not only admired him as a brave and successful commander, but esteemed and revered him as a warm friend and zealous defender of the rights and privileges of the people.

The same sentence was pronounced against Thomas earl of Warwick; but as he was a man of weak abilities, the king thought he had nothing to fear from his resentment or intrigues: he therefore granted him his life, and doomed him to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. Thomas Mortimer having escaped to Ireland, and taken refuge in the mountains among the rebellious natives, a proclamation was published in that kingdom, commanding him to appear within three months, and answer to the charge exhibited against him; otherwise he was declared a traitor, and all his estate forfeited.

Richard having received from this parliament such strong and substantial proofs of loyalty

loyalty and affection, or, to speak more properly of blind, implicit, and servile obedience, thought himself bound in duty to reward those who had been most zealous and active in his service. Accordingly, the earls of Derby, Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and mareschal, were created, in order, dukes of Hereford, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Norfolk. The earldom of Somerset, and the marquisate of Dorset, were bestowed upon John de Beaufort, the legitimate son of the duke of Lancaster: Thomas lord Spencer was created earl of Gloucester, Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Piercy earl of Worcester, and William Le Scroope earl of Wiltshire.

In a word, nothing was now to be seen but a constant intercourse of *good*, or rather indeed of *bad*, offices between the king and the parliament. The king bestowed titles and honour upon those who had little else to recommend them but a ready submission to all his commands, however unjust and unreasonable; and they, in return, expressed their gratitude for these favours by making him a voluntary sacrifice of their rights and privileges.

This spirit appeared strongly in the next session of parliament, which met at Shrewsbury

isbury on the twenty-seventh day of January.* The proceedings against the judges, who had given their opinions at Nottingham were repealed: the very answers for which they had been condemned, and which were utterly destructive of the privileges of the people, were declared to be just and legal: the sentence of exile and disherison pronounced against the d'Espensers in the reign of Edward II. was annulled; and, to complete the ruin of the constitution, the whole authority of parliament was devolved upon a committee of twelve peers and six commoners,† who were entirely at the devotion of the sovereign, and were ready to approve and execute all his unjust and arbitrary commands.

Richard did not allow the despotic power, with which he was now vested, to remain long unemployed. A dispute having happened between the dukes of Hereford

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* A. D. 1398.

† These were John duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of York, Edward duke of Albemarle, Thomas duke of Surrey, John duke of Exeter, John marquis of Dorset, Roger earl of Marche, John earl of Salisbury, Henry earl of Northumberland, Thomas earl of Gloucester, Thomas earl of Winchester, and William earl of Wiltshire, John Bussey, Henry Green, John Russel, Henry Chelmeawicke, Robert Tey, and John Golofre, knights.

and Norfolk about some treasonable words which the latter had spoken in a private conversation, the two noblemen were ordered, for want of legal proof, to decide the quarrel by single combat, according to the laws of chivalry.

But when they had entered the lists for that purpose, and were just on the point of engaging, the king interposed and stopped the duel, and, by a most unwarrantable act of arbitrary power, and with the advice, as he alledged, of his council and committee of parliament, decreed that Hereford should, within fifteen days, depart the kingdom, and go into exile for ten years, on pain of death; and that Norfolk should be banished for life, because he had not been able to clear himself of the crime which was laid to his charge.

This was so flagrant a violation of the privileges of the peers, who could not be condemned without a fair and equitable trial, that it is surprising that the lords of the committee should suffer such a sentence to be passed, or at least to be carried into execution; and it is still more unaccountable, that the duke of Lancaster should tacitly acquiesce in a judgment so injurious to his own son the duke of Hereford.

But the truth is, most of the lords in the committee were blindly devoted to the will of

of the prince; and Lancaster, who was now grown old and infirm, found himself unable to oppose the torrent.

The duke of Norfolk was overwhelmed with grief and despondence at the severity of the sentence which had been denounced against him. He retired into Germany, and from thence to Venice, where he soon after died of sorrow and chagrin.

Hereford, on the contrary, bore his fate with great courage and magnanimity; and behaved himself with so much submission, that the king not only promised to remit four years of his exile, but also granted him letters patent, empowering him to enter into immediate possession of any estates that might happen to fall to him during his banishment, and to postpone the performance of his fealty and homage until his return.

It was not long, however, before Hereford found that no dependence could be placed upon the promises, or engagements, of a man of Richard's disposition: for when, soon after his arrival at Paris, whither he retired, he had almost completed a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, Richard sent ambassadors to the French court, to declare that Hereford would never be allowed to return to England;

land; by which means the match was defeated.

This indignity, however great, was only a prelude to a more flagrant act of injustice. John, duke of Lancaster, dying in the spring of the succeeding year,* Hereford desired to be put in possession of his father's lands, agreeably to the letters patent which he had obtained before his departure from England.

But Richard, instead of granting his request, declared the letters to be null and void, seized the whole estate into his own hands, and even condemned the attorney, who had sued in Hereford's behalf, to suffer death as a traitor; though he was afterwards pleased to change the sentence into simple banishment.

It is not to be supposed that a man of Hereford's rank and character would patiently put up with such a complication of injuries. He was of a bold and enterprizing spirit; he had signalized his courage and prowess both at home and abroad; he was beloved by the people, and adored by the soldiers; he was connected by blood, or alliance, with all the principal nobility of England; and, blest with all these advantages, he resolved to return to his native country,

* A. D. 1399.

country, to assert his title to that inheritance to which he had an undoubted right, and perhaps, if fortune should favour his attempt, to raise his views to the throne itself, of which the present possessor was so extremely unworthy. To this he was the rather encouraged, as Richard, by his arbitrary and despotic proceedings, was daily rendering himself more odious and unpopular in England.

That prince, being now freed from all restraint by the death of his uncle the duke of Lancaster, began to indulge himself in all manner of debauchery and profusion, and took the most unjustifiable methods to raise money for the support of his extravagance.

Besides the large subsidies granted by the late parliament, he extorted loans from his subjects, under the name of a benevolence: he preferred a false and groundless charge of high treason against no less than sixteen counties, for having joined the duke of Gloucester and his party, during the late disturbances; and, notwithstanding the general pardon which had been confirmed in parliament, he resolved to punish them with military execution, unless they would throw themselves entirely upon his mercy; so that the inhabitants were obliged to save their lives and estates by paying exorbitant sums

of money, which reduced them to a state of absolute beggary. He exacted new oaths from the sheriffs of counties, by which they bound themselves to obey him in all his arbitrary and illegal commands: the garrisons of his foreign dominions were utterly neglected: the northern counties of England were plundered and pillaged by the incursions of the Scots, whom he had not the courage to repel: the natives of Ireland were every where in arms, and threatened the English in that country with utter ruin and destruction: the public revenues were farmed out to a set of wicked miscreants, who fleeced the people with great rigour and cruelty: no care was taken to protect the trade of the nation: the government was despised abroad, and insulted at home; and a general spirit of disaffection prevailed through the whole kingdom.

In these desperate circumstances the people naturally turned their eyes towards the duke of Hereford, who now enjoyed the title of Lancaster. They were highly incensed at the private injuries that had been done to that nobleman; and they considered him as the only person who could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, and reform the abuses of the government.

They therefore invited him to return to England, in which case they would assist in

in the recovery of his lawful inheritance at the hazard of their lives and fortune. The duke accepted the invitation with great alacrity, and promised to embrace the first favourable opportunity of complying with their request.

At this critical conjuncture Richard was so imprudent as to undertake an expedition into Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his cousin the earl of Marche, who had been slain in a skirmish with the natives; and Lancaster was no sooner informed of the king's departure from England, than he set sail from Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, amongst whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel, and after a quick and safe passage, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where he was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Willoughby, Ross, Darcy, Beaumont, and several gentlemen of distinction, attended by a numerous body of vassals and adherents.

Upon the first news of this commotion, the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the realm in the king's absence, assembled an army of forty thousand men; but finding they were extremely unwilling to fight against the duke of Lancaster, and being assured by that nobleman that his only

only intention was to recover the possession of his patrimonial inheritance, he broke his staff of office and disbanded his troops, the greatest part of which engaged in the service of the opposite party.

By this time the duke of Lancaster's army was increased to the number of sixty thousand men, at the head of which he advanced to London, where he was received by the citizens with all the marks of triumph and exultation. After having secured the city in his interest, he directed his march towards Bristol, which, after a faint resistance, was obliged to surrender at discretion.

The earl of Wiltshire and his two companions, Green and Bussy, were taken prisoners in that place; and as they had rendered themselves extremely odious to the people by their cruel and rigorous exactions, while they enjoyed the office of farming the public revenue, the duke ordered them to be led out to immediate execution.

Richard was no sooner informed of this invasion and insurrection, than he hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford-Haven with a body of twenty thousand men; but even this army, which was so much inferior to that of the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom, or was seized with the same

same spirit of rebellion ; and it soon dwindled away in such a manner, that, in a short time, Richard found he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard.

At the same time he heard that almost all his castles, from the borders of Scotland to the marches of Wales, had surrendered to the duke of Lancaster ; that the citizens of London, and most of the nobility of the kingdom, had espoused his cause ; that the duke of York had joined him with the forces he had levied to oppose his progress ; and that his favourites had lost their lives at Bristol.

This complication of misfortunes entirely overwhelmed the weak and timid mind of Richard, who despairing of ever being able to retrieve his ruined fortune, fled with a few attendants, and took refuge in Conway-Castle.

Whether Lancaster's intentions, at his first landing, were solely confined to the recovery of his paternal inheritance, we will not take upon us to determine ; certain it is, that the great success he had met with since his arrival, had now inspired him with higher hopes, and encouraged him to raise his ambitious views to the throne.

The nation he saw was fully resolved to depose the present sovereign : the young
earl

earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown, was only a boy in the seventh year of his age, and of consequence was utterly incapable of managing the reins of government, which required the direction of a more firm and steady hand; the affairs of the public were involved in such perplexity and confusion, that they could not be restored to their former order by the weak and limited authority of a regent; and, influenced by all these considerations, he thought, that his taking possession of the throne would not contribute more to the aggrandizement of his own family, than to the security of the public peace and tranquillity.

The next point to be considered, was by what title he should ascend the throne, and this he found it no easy matter to determine. To claim the crown by right of conquest, would have been an imprudent step, as it must have certainly lessened his popularity, and, perhaps, have been the means of entirely defeating his whole scheme; neither could he, with any show of reason, claimed it by hereditary right, during the life of Edmund, son of Roger Mortimer, who had been declared presumptive heir of the crown, as a lineal descendant of Lionel duke of Clarence. He therefore resolved, by the advice of his uncle the duke of York, to found his pretensions to the

the throne upon a mixed title, arising from the voluntary resignation of Richard, the deposition of that monarch by parliament, and his own services to the nation, added to a mysterious claim derived from Edmund Crouchback earl of Lancaster, who, he pretended, was the eldest son of Henry III.

As he could not execute his design without getting the king into his power, he sent the earl of Northumberland to Conway-Castle; and that nobleman easily prevailed upon the unhappy monarch, by fair promises and false oaths, to accompany him to Flint-Castle.

Lancaster, who was then at Chester, was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than he repaired to the place of Richard's residence, and was received by the king with the salutation of "Cousin of Lancaster, you are welcome." The duke, bowing three times to the ground, replied, "My lord the king, I am come sooner than you appointed, because your people say you have for these one and twenty years governed with great rigour and imprudence; so that they are by no means pleased with your conduct: but, if it please God, I will help you to govern them better for the future." To this declaration the king made no other answer, but, "Fair Cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us likewise."

In

In a few days after, the duke set out for London with his royal captive, and was met on the road by the recorder, and a number of knights and esquires, who are said to have desired, in the name of the citizens, that he would behead the king, and all those who had been taken in his service; but Lancaster rejected the proposal as equally cruel and unjust, telling them, that he would leave the punishment of the delinquents to the judgment of a free parliament.

The duke was received at London by all the city companies in their liveries; and he made his entrance amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, who cried out, “ Long live Henry the noble duke of Lancaster, our worthy friend and deliverer.” Richard was conveyed to the Tower, and the duke took up his lodgings in the house of the knights of St. John in the suburbs.

Lancaster having thus got the king into his hands, employed some of the noblemen of his party in persuading Richard to make a voluntary resignation of his crown.

At first he refused to comply with their request; but finding himself abandoned by all his friends, and conscious of his utter inability to resist the torrent of popular odium which now ran strong against him,

he, at last, made a merit of necessity, and signed a formal instrument, in which he released his subjects from the fealty and homage they had formerly sworn to him; renounced the royal dignity, crown, dominions, and government, of which he acknowledged himself to be altogether unworthy; and solemnly promised that he would never endeavour to retract this deed for the future.

At the same time, he pulled his signet-ring from his finger, and delivered it to the duke as a testimony of his affection, and desired the archbishop of York to acquaint the estates of the realm, that he wished his cousin Lancaster might be chosen his successor.

Though the parliament, which was now assembled, might have safely proceeded, upon the strength of this resignation, to advance the duke of Lancaster to the throne, they yet thought it most prudent to satisfy the minds of the people by deposing Richard in form, and publishing the reasons that induced them to take such an uncommon and extraordinary step.

They, therefore, preferred an impeachment against him in three and thirty articles, importing, That he had, with the most unbounded prodigality and profusion, squandered away the crown revenues, and

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entrusted the management of public affairs to a set of wicked and worthless ministers, who loaded the people with intolerable taxes in order to fill their own pockets : that he had unjustly accused and punished as traitors the commissioners appointed by parliament to redress the grievances of the nation : that he had forced the judges, by fear of death, to give their assent to several illegal opinions, with a view to condemn the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and other persons of distinction : that his uncle the duke of Gloucester was basely and cruelly murdered by his private direction : that he had raised forces to make war upon these three noblemen, and encouraged his soldiers in the commission of all manner of outrages : that, notwithstanding his proclamation, importing, that these three noblemen were apprehended for flight offences, he had found means to have them condemned upon a charge of high-treason : that he had exacted exorbitant fines from several counties, as an attonement for crimes which had been pardoned in the general amnesty : that he had refused to communicate the public affairs to the commissioners appointed in parliament to take care of the administration : that he had discharged his subjects, on pain of death, to intercede in behalf of the duke of Hereford :

reford: that though his crown was entirely independent on any earthly sovereign, he had obtained bulls from the court of Rome, to corroborate acts of parliament made to confirm his arbitrary proceedings: that he had banished the duke of Hereford contrary to all law and justice, and without form of trial or cause assigned: that though he had granted letters patent, empowering the said duke to sue by his attorneyes for livery of any inheritance that might fall to him during his absence, he had, nevertheless, revoked those letters, and, contrary to the laws of the land and the dictates of common justice, seized the estate of the late duke of Lancaster, and appropriated it to his own use: that he had dismissed several sheriffs from their offices, and placed others in their room by his own authority, in open violation of the laws of the realm: that he had borrowed, or rather extorted under pretence of borrowing, great sums of money which were never repaid: that he had imposed taxes upon his subjects by his sole power and authority: that he had often said the laws of the land were in his breast, and might be changed and altered according to his pleasure: that, agreeably to that arbitrary maxim, he had put several persons to death, stripped others of their fortunes, and reduced an immense number

to a state of absolute beggary : that he had extorted an act of parliament, ordaining that no statute could tend to the prejudice of his prerogative ; and by virtue of this ordinance, explained acts of parliament according to his own pleasure, and contrary to the design of the legislature : that he had allowed sheriffs to continue longer than a year in office, contrary to the law and custom of the kingdom : that by his own authority, he had annulled the election of members of parliament, and appointed others in their places : that he had exacted uncommon oaths from the sheriffs ; and commanded them to imprison all persons who should complain of the management of public affairs, until the king's pleasure should be known : that he had obliged the inhabitants of sixteen counties to own themselves guilty of treason, and afterwards to purchase their pardon with large sums of money : that he had extorted money, waggons, horses, and provisions, from several abbots and priors, in open violation of ecclesiastical liberty : that he hindered the lords in council from speaking their sentiments on the state of the kingdom, by threatening them with the severest vengeance : that he carried the jewels of the crown and the archives of the kingdom into Ireland : that in his treaties with foreign

reign princes, as well as in his engagements with his own subjects, he was guilty of such gross deceit and prevarication, that no person could depend upon his word or promise: that he had frequently said the lives and fortunes of his subjects were entirely at his disposal: that he had often violated the Magna Charta by using military instead of common law: that, on pretence of duel or single combat, he had permitted strong, active young persons to challenge those who were old and infirm; and in case they declined the unequal trial, decided the causes in favour of the challengers: that he had imposed upon many of his subjects oaths, couched in general terms, which he afterwards interpreted to their ruin and destruction: that he had granted under the privy-seal prohibitions, to which the chancellor refused to put the great seal, because they were inconsistent with the laws of the land: that he destroyed the freedom of parliament, by surrounding the house with armed men: that he unjustly and arbitrarily condemned to perpetual banishment Thomas Fitzalan archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, his spiritual father, in the absence of that prelate, who was persuaded to absent himself by the king's treacherous counsel and contrivance: that, by a clause in his will,

he had bequeathed his gold to his successor, on condition of his approving, ratifying, and confirming the laws, statutes, ordinances, and judgments, which were erroneous, unjust, and repugnant to all law and reason; and by this means endeavoured to destroy the constitution of the country: that though he had of his own accord solemnly sworn upon the sacrament in the chapel of his manor at Langley, that he would pardon the duke of Gloucester for all the crimes he was supposed to have committed against the king's person or government; yet afterwards, notwithstanding that solemn oath and obligation, he caused the duke for those very crimes to be basely and villainously murdered, adding the guilt of perjury to murder: that he had earnestly desired the archbishop of Canterbury to forbear answering the articles of his impeachment, and persuaded him to remain quiet at his own house, in full assurance that he should receive no loss or prejudice in his absence; notwithstanding which assurance, the archbishop was banished and his estate confiscated, contrary to all law and equity: that the king afterwards amused the archbishop with false and deceitful speeches, imputing the blame of his being banished to other persons, until he had found means to prevail upon the said prelate to entrust him with

with the jewels belonging to his chapel, as a sacred deposit, which he detained for his own use, and distributed among his friends and favourites: that he promised the archbishop's sentence should be annulled, and swore, upon the cross of St. Thomas the martyr, that he should not lose the archbishopric; notwithstanding which engagements, he expelled the archbishop from the kingdom, and wrote to the pope, desiring his holiness to translate him to some mean diocese in a foreign country.

These articles being publickly read, the three estates unanimously agreed, that the crimes mentioned in the impeachment, together with Richard's own confession of his utter incapacity for government, and his voluntary resignation of the crown, furnished them with sufficient cause and authority to depose him in form.

They, therefore, ordered the bishop of St. Asaph, the abbot of Glastonbury, the earl of Gloucester, the lord Berkley, Thomas Erpingham, and Thomas Grey, knights, and William Thyrning, justice, as commissioners to pronounce sentence of deposition against Richard from all royal dignity, majesty, and honour, in the name and by the authority of all the estates, as in like cases, according to the ancient

ancient custom of the kingdom, had been observed.

The sentence being drawn up by these commissioners, was pronounced by the bishop of St. Asaph ; and the three estates appointed certain persons as their proctors and agents, to go to the king and renounce the homage and fealty they had formerly done and sworn to him, and to acquaint him with the sentence of his deposition. This ceremony was no sooner performed, than Richard was removed to the castle of Ledes in Kent, and from thence to Pontefract in Yorkshire, which was the last stage of his mortal pilgrimage.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a weak, vain, and contemptible prince, who suffered the few good qualities of which he was possessed, to be corrupted and debased by the poison of flattery and adulation. He was violent in his temper, profuse in his expences, fond of idle show and magnificence, devoted to favourites, and addicted to pleasure ; passions extremely dangerous, even in a private station ; but much more fatal and pernicious, in the character of a sovereign.

He seems to have forgot (what no wise prince will ever forget) that the original design of government was not to please the wayward

wayward will of a despotic monarch, nor gratify the ambitious views of a few pampered courtiers ; but to secure and establish the happiness and welfare of the whole nation.

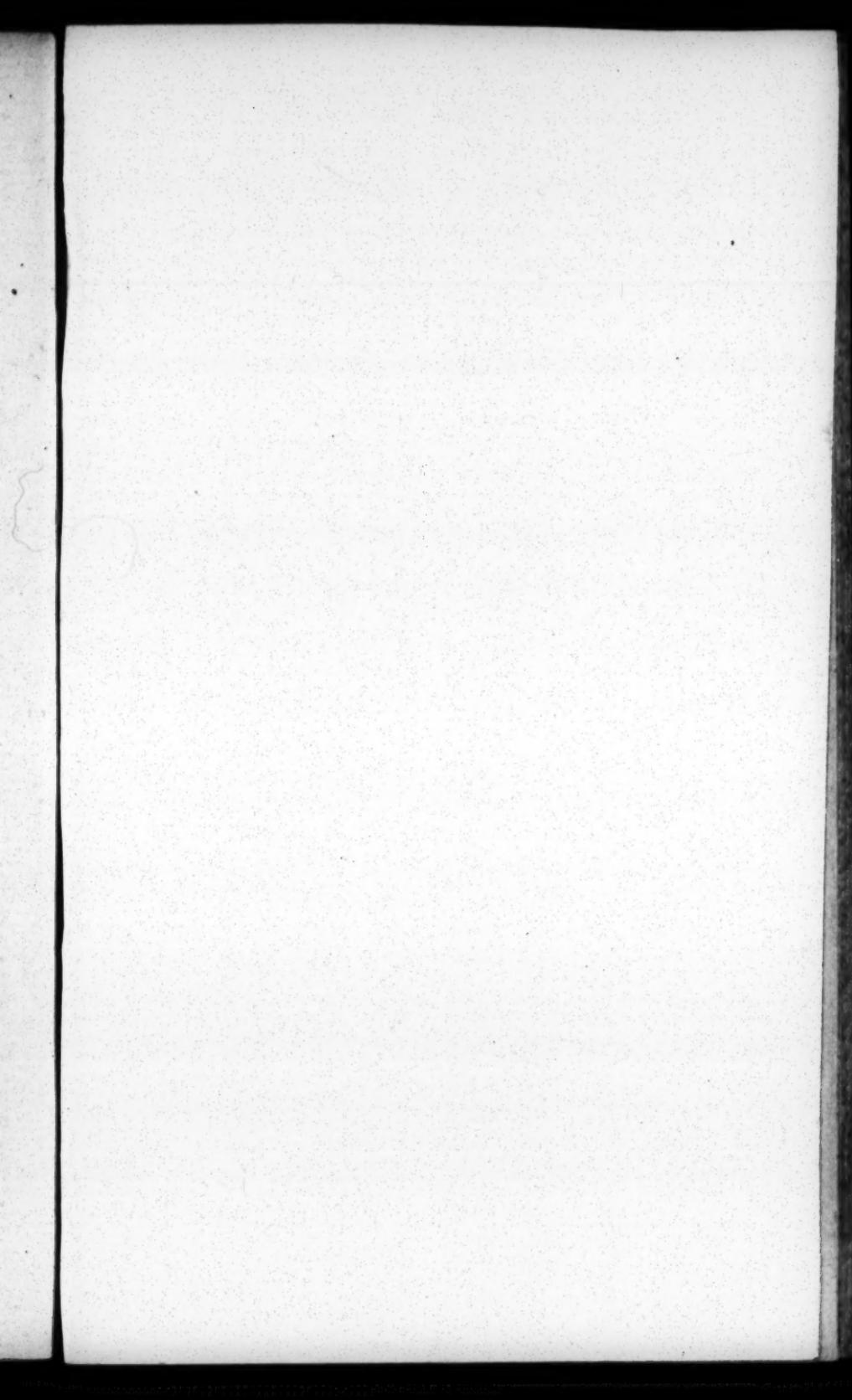
Neglecting to act like the father of his people, and endeavouring to be their tyrant and oppressor, they boldly asserted their native and unalienable rights, reminded him of his true and genuine character, and convinced him, to his sad experience, that he was only the first servant of the public.

In a word, his reign, though fatal to himself and calamitous to the nation, may yet be productive of one advantage : it ought to serve as an eternal warning to all succeeding princes, never to have any favourites but such as are the favourites of the public ; to consider the united voice of the people, as the great pole-star by which they should regulate their conduct in all public transactions ; to regard those as their most inveterate and mortal enemies, who would represent this voice as the language of faction and discord, or would advise them to act by any other rule ; and finally to remember, that all their attempts to usurp an arbitrary and despotic power, are only

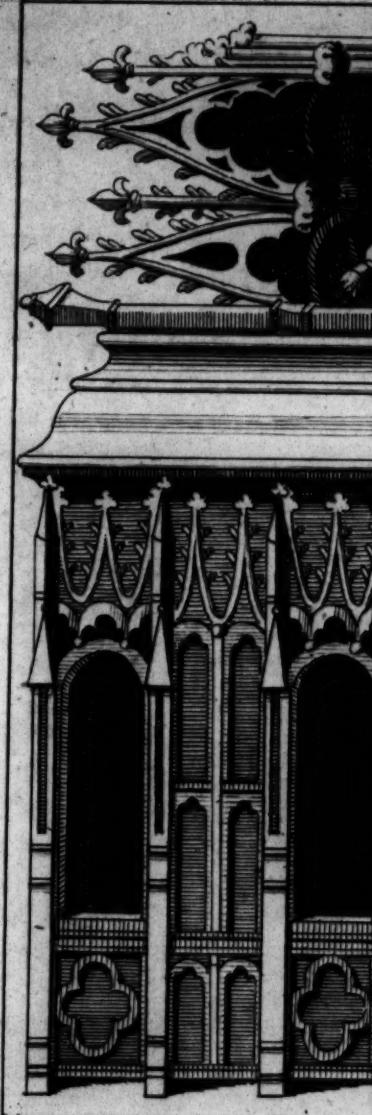
only so many steps towards their own ruin and destruction.*

* Richard had no children, either legitimate or natural. He lived, for the space of twelve years, in great harmony and concord with his first queen, Anne of Bohemia, daughter of Charles IV. emperor of Germany. As for his second wife Isabella, eldest daughter of Charles VI. king of France, her marriage with him was never actually consummated; for she had not attained the eleventh year of her age, when he was cruelly murdered, as we shall see in the history of the succeeding reign.

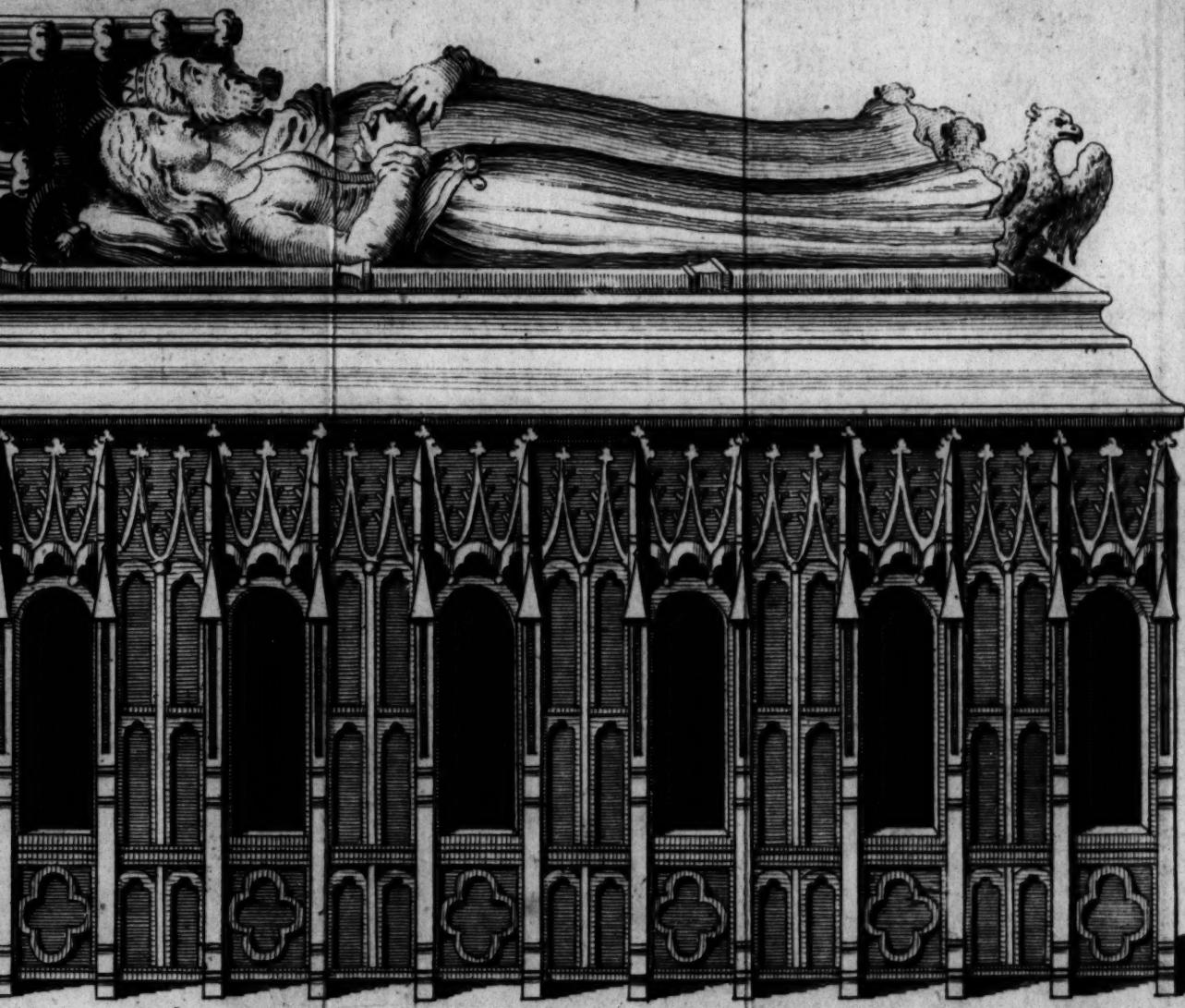
BOOK



The Mon

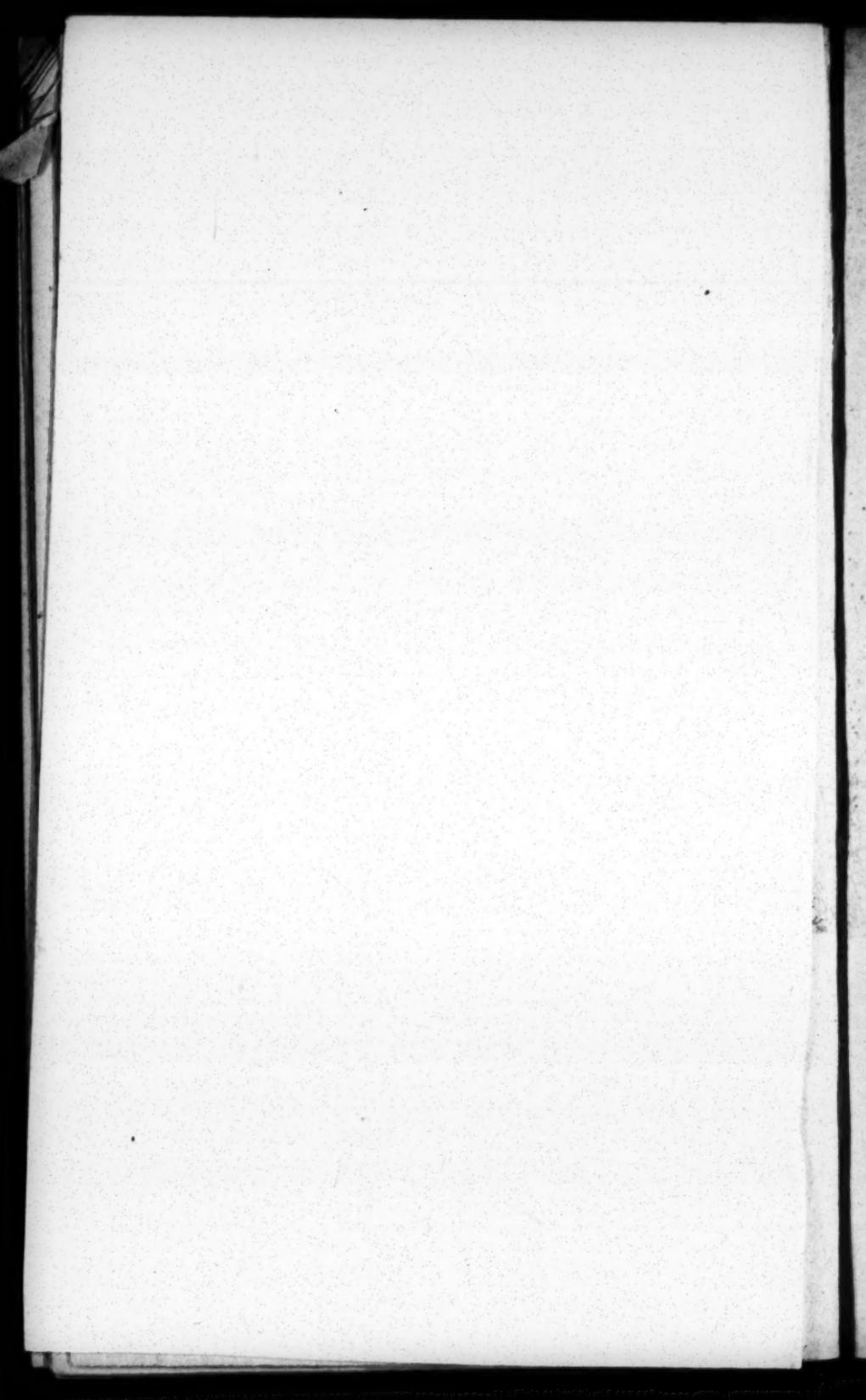


The Monument of K. Richard 2^d & his Queen in Westminster Abbey.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.

T. Kitchell sculp





HENRY IV.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

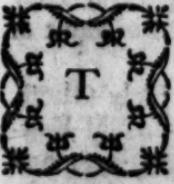


BOOK VIII.

*Containing an account of the English affairs
during the Reigns of the LANCASTRIAN
Princes, comprehending the Space of Six-
ty-two Years.*



HENRY IV. surnamed of BOLING-
BROKE, and the first King of *Eng-*
land of the House of *Lancaster*.*

HOUGH the reign of Henry IV. cannot properly be said to have commenced from the resignation of his predecessor; yet the vacancy of the throne was of so short continuance, that we may safely begin it from that period. The commissioners had no sooner set out for the Tower in order to acquaint Richard with his

* A. D. 1399.

his deposition, than Henry of Lancaster rising from his seat, calling upon the name of Christ, and crossing himself on the forehead and breast, claimed the crown with all its members and appurtenances, as the lineal descendant and right heir of blood from Henry III.*

The three estates were severally asked their opinions of this ridiculous claim, which, nevertheless, they allowed to be good, and agreed that the duke of Lancaster should reign over them. Then the archbishop of Canterbury took Henry by the right hand, and led him to the throne, upon which he placed him amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people.

The primate having made a speech suitable to the occasion, the new king, in an audible

* We shall present the reader with a faithful copy of this speech, which is chiefly valuable on account of the singularity of the language.

" In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
" I Henry of Lancaster, challenge this rewme of Eng-
" londe, and the croun, with all the membres, and
" the appurtenances; als I that am descendit by ryght
" lyne of the blode, comyng from the gude lord king
" Henry therde, and throke that ryghte that God of
" his grace hath sent me with helpe of kyn, and of
" my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was
" in poynt to be ondone by defaut of governance, and
" ondoyng of the gude lawes." *Knighton*, p. 2757.

audible voice, thanked the lords spiritual and temporal and all the estates of the land for the aid and assistance they had given him in ascending the throne; and assured them that he would not assume the rights of a conqueror to change the laws and customs of the realm, or deprive any man of his estate and privileges, except such as had opposed his endeavours for the common good of the kingdom.

That the administration of justice might not be interrupted, he immediately appointed his principal officers and judges, who took the usual oaths; and proclamation was made that the parliament should assemble on the Monday after Michaelmas.

The coronation being fixed for the ensuing Monday, the king retired to White-hall, where he treated the nobility with an elegant entertainment. The earl of Northumberland was constituted high-constable; and the dignity of earl mareschal was bestowed upon Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland. In a few days after, he granted the Isle of Man to the former of these noblemen, with the privilege of carrying, at the coronation, the sword of Lancaster, which was the very individual weapon he wore when he landed at Ravenspur.

He then invested his son Thomas of Lancaster with the office of high-steward;

60 *The History of ENGLAND.*

his deposition, than Henry of Lancaster rising from his seat, calling upon the name of Christ, and crossing himself on the forehead and breast, claimed the crown with all its members and appurtenances, as the lineal descendant and right heir of blood from Henry III.*

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He then invested his son Thomas of Lancaster with the office of high-steward ;

a place which it was necessary to fill before the coronation, because the high-steward determines the claims of those noblemen who perform particular services at that ceremony ; and as Thomas was only in the eleventh year of his age, Thomas Piercy earl of Worcester was constituted his lieutenant,

Having thus made the necessary preparations, he was crowned with great pomp and solemnity on the thirteenth day of October, being the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, in the thirty-third year of his age ; and on that very day he published a proclamation, declaring that he ascended the throne by right of conquest, the resignation of Richard in his favour, and as next male heir of the late king. At the same time he created his eldest son Henry, who was then in the thirteenth year of his age, duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and earl of Chester ; and next day the parliament met at Westmister.

The first business of the session was to repeal all the statutes enacted in the two last parliaments convoked by Richard, and which were so contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject ; and to pass several new laws securing the independency of the crown, and confirming the privileges of the people.

Then

Then the members proceeded against the evil counsellors, who had been the authors of all the pernicious measures which Richard had followed.

The sentence against the earls of Arundel and Warwick was reversed; and their accusers were deprived of their new titles, as well as of the lands of those noblemen which had been distributed among them; though the king, desirous of beginning his reign with acts of clemency, allowed them to continue in possession of their own estates.

The dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, were reduced to their former rank of earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon; and the earl of Gloucester was obliged to resign that title for his former appellation of lord d'Espenser.

Salisbury and Morley, who had been principally concerned in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and in all the arbitrary proceedings of Richard, were subjected to no other punishment than that of a short confinement; though the people loudly demanded that they should suffer death as traitors to their country.

These noblemen alledged, in their own defence, that they had been compelled by Richard to join in all his wicked measures; and therefore the parliament passed

a new law, declaring, that for the future such compulsion should be held no excuse for illegal actions.

The succession to the crown was established in the house of Lancaster by an authentic act ; and Henry received a considerable subsidy on wool, besides the remainder of what had been granted to Richard ; part of which was not yet levied. The king was so well pleased with these expressions of duty and affection, that he published a general pardon ; from which, however, he excluded the murderers of the duke of Gloucester ; one of whom being afterwards seized, acknowledged the particulars of the murder, as they have already been mentioned. He was executed at London ; and his head being sent to Calais, was fixed on the point of a pole over one of the gates of the city.

Before the session broke up, the archbishop of Canterbury desired the advice of the members, concerning the fate of Richard ; and it was unanimously agreed, that he should be kept in perpetual confinement, but in other respects treated according to his rank and quality.

The affairs of the nation being thus settled, Henry dissolved the parliament, and turned his attention towards his concerns on the Continent. He dispatched the bishop

of

of Durham, and the earl of Worcester, as his ambassadors, to Paris, with proposals of a perpetual league and alliance between the two crowns, to be strengthened by a double marriage; one between the prince of Wales and one of the French princesses, and the other between Henry's daughter and one of the sons of Charles.

This prince being highly incensed at the injury done to Richard, who was his son-in-law, the ambassadors met with a very indifferent reception: nevertheless, as they had been instructed not to take offence at any slight affronts that might be offered to them, they resolved to wait patiently until Charles should have spent the first fire of his indignation.

Henry's title, however, was readily recognized by the emperor Wenceslaus, who gave himself little trouble about the affairs of his neighbours; and the kings of Castile and Portugal were glad of a revolution that advanced their brother-in-law to the throne of England.

The Gascons, indeed, who resented the deposition of Richard, whom they considered as their countryman, were like to have raised a rebellion; but, by the prudent conduct of Sir Robert Knolles the governour, they were happily kept in their duty, and

at length reconciled to the new government.

The Scots, who never failed to improve the civil dissensions of England to their own advantage, invaded the northern counties, and reduced the castle of Werk in Northumberland ; but finding that the French king took no step to support the interest of his son-in-law Richard, they agreed to a renewal of the truce between the two nations.

The dispute with Scotland being thus accommodated, Henry endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his subjects, by his mild and gentle administration : he always discovered an extreme aversion to the arbitrary measures of his predecessor : affected to consult the interest of the people, preferably to his own ; and, as a mark of his sincerity, committed to the flames all the blank bonds which Richard had extorted from the inhabitants of London, and the sixteen counties, which he had unjustly charged with high treason.

Though the majority of the nation were well enough satisfied with the present government, the case was very different with those noblemen who had suffered by the late revolution. The dukes of Albemarle, Surry, Exeter, and the earl of Gloucester, were greatly enraged at the loss of their titles ; and

and they resolved to gratify their resentment, by dethroning the prince who had thus deprived them of their former dignity. With this view they entered into a conspiracy with the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Blount, the abbot of Westminster, and several other persons of power and interest; and engaged as their tool one Maudlin, who had been chaplain to Richard, and resembled that prince so exactly in his shape and features, that they thought they could easily impose him upon the public for the true monarch. They intended to proclaim a tournament at Oxford, and invite Henry to that place, hoping they should there have an opportunity to seize or assassinate his person. But this plot was happily defeated by means of the duke of Albemarle, who betrayed his associates, and acquainted the king with all the particulars of the conspiracy. Henry, being thus apprized of his danger, laid aside all thoughts of going to Oxford, and remained at Windsor until he should see what course the confederates would pursue.

They no sooner found that their scheme was discovered, than they had recourse to extremities. They instantly produced Maudlin in royal attire, and boldly affirmed that he was Richard escaped from prison, and come

come to implore the assistance of his faithful subjects.

This stratagem had some effect: The deluded people were induced to believe, that this person was really Richard. They were touched with pity for the misfortunes of that prince: they now seemed to have forgot all his vices, and remembered only his good qualities; and they flocked to his standard in such numbers, that the lords of the confederacy found themselves in a few days at the head of a numerous army, with which they proposed to advance to Windsor, where they hoped to take the king by surprize.

Meantime Henry had repaired to London, where he collected a body of twenty thousand men, and took post on Hounslow-Heath, with a determined resolution to give battle to the rebels, should they attempt to approach the capital.

But the spirit and conduct of the mayor of Cirencester saved him that trouble. The rebels had encamped in the suburbs of that city; while the dukes of Surrey and Exeter, and the earls of Salisbury and Gloucester took up their quarters without the walls.

The mayor having assembled a body of four hundred men, and secured the gates with strong barricadoes, attacked the noblemen

blemen in their quarters. Surry and Salisbury were taken after an obstinate defence, and instantly beheaded by the mayor's order: Exeter and Gloucester found means to escape; but they were afterwards apprehended, and underwent the fate of their companions; and the common soldiers were so intimidated by this misfortune, that they instantly dispersed, and returned to their own homes.*

Henry, informed of this event, immediately advanced to Cirencester, when he liberally rewarded the mayor and inhabitants for their great valour and fidelity; and after having inflicted condign punishment upon all the rebels that fell into his hands, he returned in triumph to London.

It is commonly supposed that this conspiracy hastened the fate of the unhappy Richard. The manner of his death is not certainly known.

Some alledge that he was cruelly murdered by a party of ruffians, headed by Sir Piers de Exton, who fell upon him in the castle of Pontefract, and dispatched him with their halberts. But this account by no means agrees with the story, that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it.

Others

Others suppose that he starved himself to death from grief and vexation at the miscarriage of his friends. But the most probable opinion is, that he was doomed to this lingering destiny by the private direction of Henry; and it is said, that after all subsistence was denied him, he prolonged his wretched life for the space of a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miseries.

The death of Richard, in whatever manner it happened, had a happy influence on the affairs of England. The French immediately laid aside all thoughts of an invasion, and consented to a truce for eight and twenty years between the two kingdoms; and it was further agreed that queen Isabel, whose marriage had never been consummated, should be allowed to return to her own country.

Henry, while a subject, was supposed to be strongly tinctured with the principles of the Lollards; but finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, he thought superstition a very necessary support of public authority: he therefore resolved to secure the favour of the clergy by every possible expedient; and he knew that no method was so effectual for that purpose as to gratify their resentment against their opponents.

He

He engaged the parliament to pass a law, by which it was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed or refused to abjure his his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissioners, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate, before the whole people.

Toleration was never the characteristic of the Roman Catholic religion : William Sautre, rector of St. Osithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury ; his sentence was now ratified by the house of peers ; the king issued his writ for the execution ; and the unhappy man attoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This was the first instance of that kind in England ; and thus one horror more was added to those calamities with which the people were already oppressed.*

The late revolution in England gave occasion to an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendourdwy, commonly called Glendower, and sprung from the ancient princes of that country, had drawn upon him the jealousy and suspicion of Henry, by the great regard he had always expressed for the interests of Richard ; and Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn,

thyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and possessed a large fortune in the Marches of Wales, thought this a favourable opportunity for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate.

Glendower, enraged at this injustice, recovered his fortune by force of arms: Henry sent assistance to Grey; the Welch espoused the cause of Glendower; and this dispute gave birth to a tedious and troublesome war, which Glendover supported for a long time with uncommon valour and success.

As Glendover committed devastations promiscuously on all the English, he ravaged the estate of the earl of Marche; and Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, assembled the vassals of that family, and engaged the Welch chieftain. His army was defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. At the same time the earl of Marche, who, though a mere boy, had taken the field with his dependents, fell into the hands of Glendower, who carried him into Wales. As Henry bore a mortal hatred to all the family of Marche, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; nor would he suffer the earl of Northumberland, to whose assistance he himself had

owed

owed his crown, to treat with Glendower for his ransom.

The Scots having lately made some fresh irruptions into England, Henry resolved to retort these insults, and with that view advanced to Edinburgh with a numerous army. He soon made himself master of the capital, and summoned Robert III. to do him homage for his crown; but finding that the enemy would neither obey his summons, nor give him battle, he returned to his own dominions, and disbanded his forces.

In the following spring Archibald earl of Douglas invaded England with a body of twelve thousand men, and wasted the country with fire and sword.* On his return home, he was surprized by the Piercies, at Holmedon, on the borders, where a desperate battle ensued, in which the Scots were entirely defeated. Douglas himself fell into the hands of the English; as did likewise Mordac earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king, together with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many other persons of distinction.

Henry was no sooner informed of this victory, than he sent orders to the earl of

Northumberland, strictly forbidding him to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman considered as his undisputed right, according to the laws of war. The king resolved to keep them in his own custody, hoping, by their means, to conclude a more advantageous peace with Scotland ; but, by this arbitrary and impolitic step, he exposed himself to the resentment of the Piercies.

The earl of Northumberland had been very instrumental in raising Henry to the throne, and of consequence could ill bear with any marks of injustice or ingratitude, from a prince whom he had so highly obliged. He paid so much deference to the king's orders, as not to release his prisoners ; but when he was commanded to deliver them into the hands of his majesty, he absolutely refused to comply.

The fiery spirit of Henry Piercy his son, and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester his brother, contributed greatly to inflame his discontent ; and the weak title of the new king, encouraged him to seek a redress of his grievances, by overturning that throne which he had at first established.*

He entered into a correspondence with Glendower ; he released the earl of Douglas without

without ransom, and formed a strict alliance with that martial nobleman ; he assembled his vassals and attendants from all quarters ; and so unlimited was the authority which then belonged to the great families, that the very same men, whom he had lately led against Richard, were now willing to follow his standard in opposition to Henry.

When the war was ready to break out, Northumberland was taken ill at Berwick ; and young Piercy, putting himself at the head of the troops, advanced to Shrewsbury, in order to meet the forces with which Glendower was coming to his aid.

The king had happily a small army on foot, which he intended to lead against the Scots ; and, sensible of the great importance of quickness and dispatch in all civil commotions, he instantly set out on his march, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendower ; and the good conduct of the one leader, and the impatient spirit of the other, soon brought on a general engagement.

A few days before the battle Piercy published a manifesto, in which he renounced his allegiance to Henry, set that prince at open defiance, and, in the name of his fa-

ther and uncle, as well as his own, represented all the grievances of which the nation had reason to complain.

He charged Henry with treachery and perfidy, in having dethroned his lawful prince, contrary to the oath he had taken at Doncaster, immediately after his arrival in England. He accused him of having ruled in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner, and rendered himself inaccessible to every body but the clergy, insomuch that the greatest nobleman of the land could not be admitted to his presence, unless introduced by some bishop; and he affirmed, that the king had converted to his own use, the subsidies which had been granted for the service of the public.

Henry published an answer to this manifesto, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himself from all the crimes that were laid to his charge; and accused Piercy, in his turn, of having rebelled against the established government.

These mutual recriminations were well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties; the bravery of the two leaders seemed to forebode a desperate engagement; and the equality of the armies, consisting each of about twelve thousand men, a number which might be easily managed by the commanders, gave reason to apprehend a great

great effusion of blood on both sides, and a very uncertain issue to the combat.

These conjectures were but too fully verified in the sequel. The two armies engaged with a fury and impetuosity, and maintained the fight with an obstinacy and perseverance, to which we shall find few parallels in the English history.

The king exposed his person like the meanest soldier, in the hottest of the battle; his gallant son the prince of Wales, who afterwards became so famous under the name of Henry V. exhibited here the first specimens of his military genius, and nobly followed his father's footsteps; nor could even a wound on his face, which he received from an arrow, oblige him to quit the field.

Piercy supported that high character, which he had formerly acquired in so many bloody battles: and Douglas, once his mortal enemy, but now his stedfast friend, still approved himself his worthy rival, amidst all the horror and confusion of the day.

This nobleman performed such prodigies of valour as are almost incredible: he seemed determined that the king of England should that day fall by his arm; and as Henry, either to deceive the enemy, or encourage his own men, had accoutered sev-

ral officers in royal attire, the sword of Douglas rendered that honour destructive to many.

But while the two armies were thus struggling and contending for victory, the death of Piercy, by an uncertain hand, decided the fortune of the day, and the rebels were put to a total rout. On the king's side, Edmund earl of Stafford, who commanded the first line, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir John Clifton, Sir John Cockaine, Sir Nicholas Gauſet, Sir John Calverley, Sir John Maffey, Sir Hugh Mortimer, and about fifteen hundred men, were left dead upon the spot, and about three thousand dangerously wounded.

The rebel army lost double that number: the earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners, together with the baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon. All these were beheaded at Shrewsbury, except Douglas, whom the king dismissed without ransom on account of his valour.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered his health, and assembled a strong body of troops, was advancing to the assistance of his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and receiving intelligence of the disaster at Shrewsbury, he disbanded his forces and came to the king

at

at York with a small retinue. He pretended that his only design in taking to arms was to effect an accommodation between the two parties.

Henry was afraid of driving to despair a nobleman who was in possession of Berwick, Alnewick, and Werkworth, besides the castles that were occupied by his friends and vassals, who had escaped from the battle of Shrewsbury. He therefore thought proper to admit his apology, and even indulged him with a pardon for his offence.

All the other rebels met with the same gentle treatment; and, except Worcester, Kinderton, and Vernon, who were considered as the chief authors of the conspiracy, no person embarked in this dangerous design seems to have fallen by the hands of the executioner.

But though Northumberland had obtained a pardon, he well knew that he should never recover his interest and confidence with his sovereign; and instigated by this reflection, as well as by his own restless and ambitious spirit, he soon engaged in another rebellion, which, nevertheless, was as easily suppressed as the former.*

It

* A. D. 1405.

It was either owing to the prudent conduct, or the good fortune of the king, or perhaps to the folly and imprudence of his enemies, that no regular combination was ever formed among them. They rebelled against him one after another, by which means he found it no difficult matter to quell these insurrections singly, which had they been united, might have proved fatal to the throne.

The earl of Nottingham, son to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only earl of Hereford, had accused of high-treason, and by that means subjected to the punishment of perpetual exile, and the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, then duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, still continued to harbour an implacable rancour against that prince; and they now resolved, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance on the enemy of their families.

They took to arms before that nobleman was ready to join them with his forces, and publishing a manifesto, in which they accused Henry of having usurped the throne, and murdered the late king, they demanded that the right line should be restored, and all the grievances of the nation redressed.

The

The earl of Westmoreland was no sooner informed of this insurrection, than he assembled his vassals, and ventured to approach the rebels in the neighbourhood of York; but as he was greatly inferior to them in point of numbers, he had recourse to a stratagem, which, however unpromising in appearance, was nevertheless attended with the desired success.

He prevailed upon the earl and the archbishop to favour him with a conference between the two armies: he heard their complaints with great patience: he heartily concurred with them in their concern for the welfare and prosperity of the nation: he begged them to mention their grievances, and propose the remedies: he approved of every thing they said on the subject: he readily complied with all their demands: he even undertook that Henry should give them entire satisfaction; and, when he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he added, that since harmony and concord was now re-established between them, it were better for both parties to disband their forces, which must otherwise prove extremely burdensome to the country.

The archbishop, and the earl of Nottingham, immediately gave orders for that purpose; and their troops were forthwith dismissed:

missed: but Westmoreland, who had secretly given contrary orders to his own army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and conducted them to the king, who was hastening by long marches to suppress the rebellion.

The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have been attended with insuperable difficulties, had Henry proceeded in the regular method, and allowed time for an opposition to be formed against that unpopular and unprecedented measure. But the king took care to prevent such a disagreeable consequence, by his celerity and dispatch.

Finding that Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, made some scruple of acting on this occasion, he appointed Sir William Fulthorp a judge for that purpose; who, without any indictment or form of trial, pronounced sentence of death upon the prelate, which was instantly carried into execution.

He was the first bishop that ever suffered death in England, by a sentence of the civil judge; and the pope was so much enraged at this violation of ecclesiastical liberty, that he excommunicated all who were concerned in his death and condemnation.

The

The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner: but though many other persons of distinction, such as the lord Falconbridge, Sir Ralph Hastings, and Sir John Colville, were embarked in this rebellion, no more seem to have fallen victims to public justice.*

The earl of Northumberland was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he fled into Scotland with lord Bardolf; and the king advancing into the northern counties, easily subdued all the castles belonging to these noblemen.

He then turned his arms against Glendower, over whom his son, the prince of Wales, had already gained some considerable advantages; but that enemy, aided by the intrepid spirit of his followers, and the inaccessible situation of his country, still found means of defending himself in his woods and fastnesses, and of eluding, though not resisting, the whole force of England.

In a subsequent year, the earl of Northumberland, and lord Bardolf, being heartily tired of their banishment, made an irruption into the northern counties, in hopes of being able to recover their possessions; but

* A. D. 1406.

but they found the country in such a posture of defence, as rendered all their endeavours entirely abortive.* Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, assembled some forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and obtained a complete victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were slain.

This happy event, together with the death of Glendower, which happened soon after, delivered Henry from all domestic enemies; and this prince, who ascended the throne by such unjustifiable methods, and possessed it by such a precarious title, had yet, by his prudent and spirited conduct, established his authority on a firm foundation, and acquired a greater ascendant over the barons, than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

About the same time, Henry obtained an advantage over that neighbour, who, by his situation, was most able to disturb the tranquillity of his reign. Robert III. king of Scotland, was a prince of weak intellects, though very harmless and inoffensive in his conduct: but the Scots were at that time a more restless and turbulent people than even the English themselves, and of consequence were less capable of being governed by a man of Robert's character.

The

* A. D. 1407.

The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince possessed of greater abilities, or at least endowed with a more bold and enterprizing spirit, had engrossed the sole management of public affairs; and, not content with his present authority, he had formed the cruel design of destroying his brother's children, and of advancing his own family to the throne.

He imprisoned his eldest nephew, David, in the castle of Falkland, where that unhappy prince was starved to death by his inhuman uncle. James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between Albany and the throne; and king Robert, sensible of his son's danger, put him on board of a ship, in order to be conveyed to France for his education.

Unluckily, the vessel was taken by the English; prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was conducted to London; and, though the truce between the two kingdoms was not then expired, Henry constantly refused to set the young prince at liberty.

Robert, oppressed with cares and infirmities, was unable to sustain the shock of this last misfortune; and he died soon after, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany.

Henry now saw the great importance of the acquisition he had made; by keeping this valuable pledge in his hands, he could easily overawe the duke of Albany, and force him into a compliance with all his measures; or, if that nobleman should presume to offend, he could soon take vengeance upon the usurper, by restoring the lawful heir to the throne.

But though Henry, by detaining James, had been guilty of a breach of the truce, and violated the laws of hospitality and friendship, he yet, in some measure, compensated for that crime, by giving the prince an excellent education; which afterwards qualified him, when he ascended the throne, to soften and civilize the rude and barbarous manners of his subjects.

England had much less connexion with France during this reign, than in any former period. Both nations were too much involved in civil discord and dissension, to be able to take advantage of the unhappy situation of each other.* But Henry had no sooner established the internal peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, than he began to turn his attention towards the affairs of the Continent, and to encourage and foment those animosities between the families of Burgundy

* A. D. 1410.

Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, at that time, so much distracted.*

He knew that the universal odium which his predecessor had incurred, was, in a great measure, owing to the inactivity of his reign; and he hoped, by giving a new turn to the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his barons, to restrain them from breaking out into civil wars and commotions.

That he might join policy to force, he first formed an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, and furnished that prince with a small body of troops, by which he was enabled to make head against his enemies. Soon after, he embraced a more advantageous proposal made him by the duke of Orleans, and dispatched a great force to assist that party.

But the two French princes having at last agreed to a temporary pacification, the interests of the English were sacrificed to their mutual convenience; and this effort of Henry was productive of no considerable advantage.* The bad state of his health, and the shortness of his reign, hindered him from renewing the attempt which his more fortunate son prosecuted with such

H 2

amazing

* A. D. 1411.

† A. D. 1412.

amazing success against the French monarchy.

Mean while the prince of Wales, by his loose and dissolute behaviour, was daily giving his father great cause of pain and uneasiness. His court was the common receptacle of libertines, debauchees, buffoons, parasites, and all the other species of vermin which are at once the disgrace and ruin of young sovereigns.

The wild pranks and riotous exploits of the prince and his companions were the common topics of conversation.* This degeneracy in the heir of the crown was not more disagreeable to the king himself, who loved him with a most tender affection, than it was alarming to the nation in general, who trembled at the prospect of being one day governed by a prince of his character.

But these excesses, though they eclipsed, could not be said to destroy the true greatness of his soul, which never failed to shew itself on all proper occasions. One of his favou-

* He is said, among other pranks, to have disguised himself in a mean habit, and lain in wait for the receivers of his father's revenues, whom he attacked upon the highway, and robbed of the money they were carrying to the treasury. In these encounters, he sometimes received a sound drubbing; but he was always sure to reward those officers who made a brave and obstinate resistance. *Stow.*

favourites having been indicted for some misdemeanour, was condemned, notwithstanding all the interest he could make in his favour; and he was so incensed at the issue of the trial, that he struck the judge upon the bench.

This magistrate, whose name was Sir William Gascoigne, acted with a spirit becoming his character; he instantly ordered the prince to be committed to prison: and young Henry, by this time sensible of the insult he had offered to the laws of his country, suffered himself to be quietly conducted to gaol by the officers of justice.

The king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he cried out in a transport of joy: “ happy is the king who “ has a magistrate possessed of courage to “ execute the laws; and still more happy “ in having a son who will submit to such “ chastisement.”

But notwithstanding this instance of modesty and submission in the prince, Henry, who was naturally of a jealous and suspicious disposition, listened to the suggestions of some sycophants, who insinuated that his son had an evil design upon his crown and authority. These insinuations filled his breast with the most anxious fears and apprehensions; and perhaps he might have

had recourse to very disagreeable expedients, in order to prevent the imaginary danger, had not his suspicions been removed by the prudent conduct of the young prince.

He was no sooner informed of his father's jealousy, than he repaired to court, in a strange habit, as an emblem of his grief and sorrow, and, throwing himself on his knees, accosted the king in the following terms.*

“ I understand, my liege, that you suspect me of entertaining designs against your crown and person. I own, I have been guilty of many excesses, which have justly exposed me to your displeasure; but I take heaven to witness, that I never harboured a single thought inconsistent with that duty and veneration which I owe to your majesty. Those who charge me with such criminal intentions, only want to disturb the tranquillity of your reign, and to alienate your affections from your son and successor. I have therefore taken the liberty to come into your presence, and humbly beg you will cause my conduct to be examined with as much rigour and severity as that of the meanest of your subjects; and if I be found guilty, I will chearfully submit to any

“ any punishment you shall think proper
“ to inflict. This scrutiny I demand, not
“ only for the satisfaction of your majesty,
“ but likewise for the vindication of my
“ own character.”

The king was so highly satisfied with this frank and ingenuous address, that he embraced him with great tenderness, acknowledging that his suspicions were entirely removed, and that for the future he would never harbour a thought prejudicial to his loyalty and honour.

Henry did not long survive this interview. He was seized with a malady, which some authors have called a leprosy, and others a kind of apoplexy, which returned, at certain intervals, and deprived him of all sensation.

This distemper, together with some scruples of conscience, concerning the means he had employed to obtain the crown, and a ridiculous prophecy, implying, that he should die in Jerusalem, disposed his mind to the duties of religion; and he assumed the cross, with a fixed resolution to devote the rest of his days to a war against the infidels.

He signified his intention to a great council convoked for that purpose; and began to make the necessary preparations for carrying his scheme into execution, when his disease

disease increased to such a degree, that he was forced to lay aside his design, and prepare himself to take a final leave of the world.

Henry had been so frequently in danger of losing his crown, that his imagination seems to have been strongly possessed with that idea ; and, as his strength decayed, his apprehensions redoubled, even to a degree of childish anxiety. He would not sleep unless the royal diadem was placed under his pillow.

One day he remained so long in a swoon, that his servants thought he was actually dead, and the prince carried the crown into his own apartment. The king recovering the use of his senses, and observing the crown was removed, asked who had dared to take it from his pillow ; and being told that the prince had carried it away, he ordered him to be brought into his presence. When young Henry appeared, “ What,” said the king with an angry countenance, “ would you deprive me of my crown before my death ? ” “ No,” replied the prince, “ thinking your majesty was dead, “ I took it as my lawful inheritance ; but “ now that I see you alive, I return it with “ far greater pleasure than I took it ; and “ may God grant you many happy days to “ enjoy it in peace.” So saying, he laid the

the crown upon the pillow ; and having received his father's blessing, withdrew.

The king was seized with his last fit, at his devotion, before the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster-abbey, from whence he was conveyed to the Jerusalem Chamber. When he recovered from his swoon, and found himself in a strange place, he desired to know the name of the apartment, and being acquainted with its appellation, he immediately concluded that his end was at hand, and that he should die, according to the prophecy, in Jerusalem.

Possessed with this apprehension, he desired to see the prince of Wales, to whom he administered some wholesome advice concerning his government ; though he could not help discovering a great deal of uneasiness, both with respect to his own usurpation, and the ambitious views of the duke of Clarence, who he seemed to suspect would dispute the succession with Henry.

The prince of Wales promised to observe his directions with the utmost fidelity, and begged he would give himself no concern about the duke of Clarence ; for if that prince should behave like an affectionate brother, he might expect to be treated with all the regard and tenderness which such a connection required ; but should he attempt to

to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, he should be punished according to his deserts.

The king seemed to be well satisfied with Henry's resolution; and having recommended him to the protection of heaven, expired on the twentieth day of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

Henry IV. was of a middle stature, and handsome make; and was perfectly accomplished in all the exercises of arms and chivalry. His countenance, like his disposition, was serious and sedate: he was equally proof against the smiles and frowns of fortune; neither elated in prosperity, nor dejected in adversity. His personal courage and military prowess were unquestioned: he possessed a large fund of good sense, solid judgment and deep penetration; and was endowed with such a presence of mind and quickness of apprehension, that he never failed to extricate himself from every difficulty with equal spirit and success.

In a word, excepting the circumstance of his usurpation, which was as much owing to the zeal of the people as to his own ambition, and the few instances of severity which he was obliged to make for his own security, he seems to have been very well qualified for his high station; and had



CHAUCER.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

had he possessed the crown by a just and lawful title, and of consequence been freed from the many disturbances which the want of that right occasioned, he might have passed his life with as much honour to himself, and as much advantage to the nation, as any other monarch that ever filled the English throne.*

HENRY

* Henry was twice married : by his first wife Mary de Bohun, daughter of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, and two daughters ; viz. Henry prince of Wales, who succeeded him on the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester ; Blanche his eldest daughter was married to Lewis elector of Palatine, and Philippa espoused Eric king of Denmark and Norway. His second wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter to the king of Navarre, and widow to the duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

In the course of this reign, William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, Sir Robert Knolles, and Richard Whittington mayor of London, distinguished themselves for their works of charity and public foundations. Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower rendered themselves famous for their poetical talents ; and are justly consider'd as the first reformers of the English language.

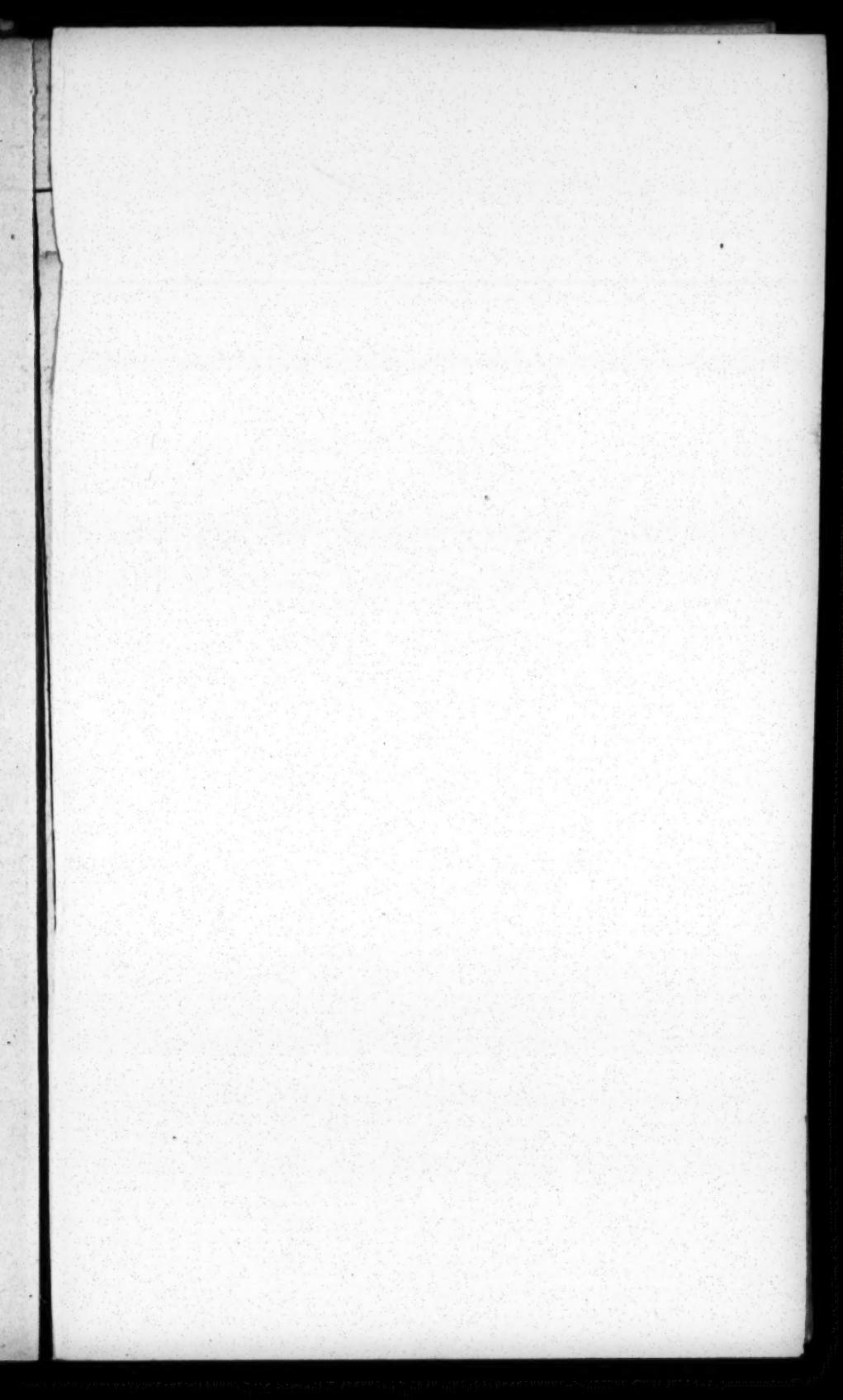
As Henry's elevation to the throne was, in a great measure, owing to the assistance and concurrence of parliament, he found no little difficulty, during the whole course of his reign, in managing the members of that respectable body. Yet he generally had the address, by his prudent and politic conduct, to bring them

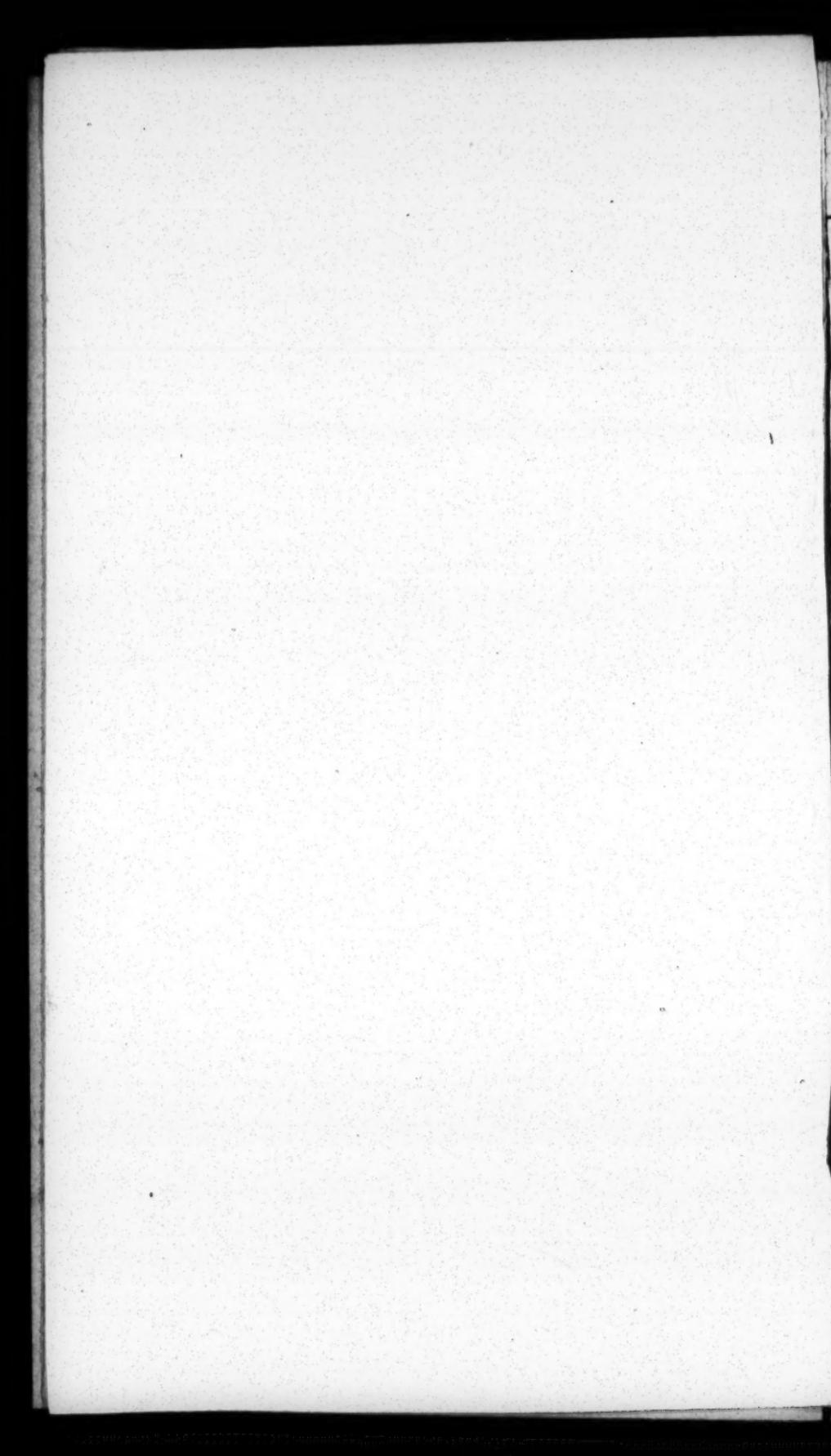
them into his measures, and to obtain from them such supplies as the service of the public required.

The nation seems, at this time, to have been strongly infected with the spirit of Lollardism. In the sixth year of Henry, when the commons were desired to grant a subsidy, they advised the king to seize the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. They affirmed, that the clergy possessed a third part of the lands of the kingdom; that they bore no share of the public taxes; and that their exorbitant riches tended only to make them lazy and luxurious, and to render them more unfit for the discharge of their ministerial functions.

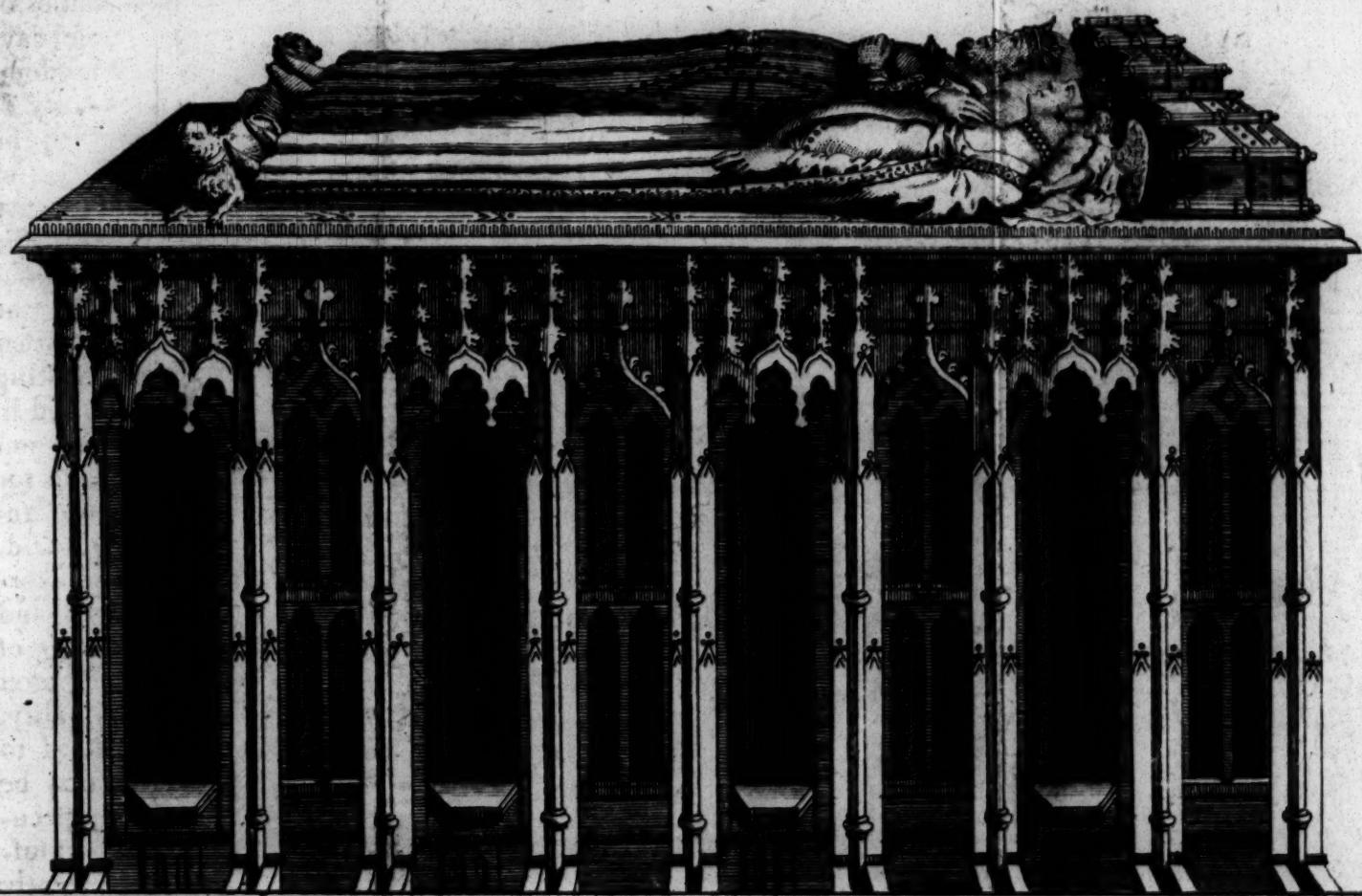
When this address was presented, the archbishop of Canterbury, who attended the king, objected to the proposal, alledging that the clergy, though they went not to the wars in person, sent their vassals and tenants; while, at the same time, they themselves, who staid at home, were constantly employed in offering up their prayers to Heaven for the happiness of the state, and the success of his majesty's arms. The speaker smiled at this objection, and answered, without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very slender supply. Nevertheless, the archbishop prevailed in the dispute; the king refused to comply with the proposal; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues.

The commons, not at all discouraged by this repulse, renewed the attack in the eleventh year of his majesty's reign. They made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thousand marks a year, and included eighteen thousand and four hundred ploughs of land. They proposed, that these riches should be divided among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and one hundred hospitals;





The Monument of H. Henry 4. in the Cathedral of Canterbury.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

J. Nutell Sc.



HENRY V.



Engrav'd for R. Ulster's History of England.

HENRY V. surnamed of
MONMOUTH.*

IT happens unluckily for those who insist so much on the divine and indefeasible nature of hereditary right, that that idea may be so easily effaced from the minds of men, and is always found to give place to the superior consideration of the general happiness and welfare of the whole body of the people.

Though many attempts had been made to deprive the late king of his crown;

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hospitals; besides twenty thousand pounds a year, which the king might appropriate to his own use; and they insisted, that the clerical functions would be performed, with greater order and regularity than at present, by fifteen thousand parish priests, at the moderate rate of seven marks a piece of yearly stipend.

This proposal was accompanied with a petition for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, from whence it was easy to conjecture from what source the address came. The king was so far from complying with the request of the commons, that he reprimanded them sharply for their arrogance and presumption; declared his firm resolution to maintain the church as at present established; and, as a proof of his sincerity, ordered a Lollard to be burned before the end of the session.

* A. D. 1413.

though the son could not be supposed to possess a better title than his father ; and though the earl of Marche, the lineal heir, was then alive, yet, the parliament made no difficulty in bestowing the royal diadem on the prince of Wales, because they were fully convinced that such a step would be most conducive to the interest of the nation.

Nor had they any reason to repent of their conduct. No sooner had the young king assumed the reins of government, than he shewed himself to be extremely worthy of the high station to which he was advanced. He published a general amnesty for all crimes, except rapes and murders.

He called together the dissolute companions of his youth, acquainted them with his intended reformation, advised them to imitate his good example ; and, after having forbid them to appear in his presence for the future, he at last dismissed them with liberal presents.

He chose a new council, composed of the wisest and best men of the kingdom : he reformed the benches by discarding the ignorant and corrupt judges, and supplying their places with persons of courage, knowledge, and integrity.

Even the chief justice Gascoigne, who had committed young Henry to prison, and who,

who, on that account, trembled to approach the royal presence, was received with the utmost cordiality and friendship, and, instead of being reproached for his past conduct, was warmly exhorted to persevere in the same strict and impartial execution of the laws.

Nor was Henry less careful in reforming ecclesiastical abuses; he bestowed the vacant benefices upon none but such as were of known worth and unblemished morals.

He expressed the deepest sorrow for the many misfortunes and unhappy fate of Richard II. whose corpse he caused to be conveyed from Langley to Westminster-Abbey, where it was interred by his queen Anne of Luxemburg, with great funeral solemnity, at which Henry assisted in person; he even walked as chief mourner on this occasion; and afterwards, by way of atonement for his father's usurpation, he founded three monasteries near Shene in Surrey, where prayers were continually said for the soul of Richard.

He released the earl of Marche from that confinement in which he had been kept during the whole of the preceding reign; and even treated him with such humanity and benevolence as entirely gained the affections of that young nobleman, who ever

after continued to serve him with remarkable zeal and fidelity.

He expressed a generous concern for the sufferings of the Piercy family ; and invited the son and heir of Hotspur to come from Scotland, that he might be restored to the honours and estate of his ancestors. In a word, he seemed determined to bury all party distinctions in eternal oblivion ; and to approve himself the common father and protector of all his subjects without exception.

There still remained, however, one party, which, as it owed its rise to a religious difference, was extremely obstinate and inflexible, and which all the prudence and popularity of Henry was unable to overcome. The Lollards were every day becoming more numerous in the kingdom, and were now formed into a regular party, which bore a very unfavourable aspect, not only upon the religious, but even to the civil, constitution of the country.

The spirit of enthusiasm, by which these sectaries were animated ; the great innovations which they proposed to introduce ; the strong aversion which they had to the established religion of the nation ; these and many other circumstances concurred to arouse the fears and apprehensions of Henry, who, either from a real regard for the present form of worship, or from a dread of those dangerous

gerous consequences which all important changes are found to occasion, resolved to punish these restless heretics, with all the rigour and severity of the law.

The head of this sect was Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman remarkable for his personal courage and military prowess, and who had, by his gallant behaviour, recommended himself to the favour as well of the late as of the present sovereign. But his high rank and great abilities which, one would imagine, might have screened him from all danger, only exposed him the more to the hatred and resentment of the clergy.

They thought that if they could procure the condemnation of a man of his character, this circumstance would strike terror into the whole party, and convince them to their fatal experience, that they had no mercy to expect under the present administration.

In these sentiments, the archbishop of Canterbury applied to the king for a permission to impeach lord Cobham; but the humane disposition of Henry was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion.

He told the primate, that reason and argument were the only proper weapons for defending and maintaining the truth; that every gentle means ought first to be employed

ployed, in order to reclaim men from their errors ; and that he himself would endeavour, in a conference with Cobham, to divest him of all his prejudices, and bring him back to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman unshaken in his principles, and firmly resolved not to sacrifice the dictates of his conscience to his complaisance for princes.

Whether Henry was offended at any thing that passed in this conversation ; whether he was provoked at the obstinacy of Cobham, or was influenced by the importunity of the clergy, certain it is, that he withdrew his protection from that heretic, and allowed the ecclesiastical courts to proceed against him with the utmost rigour.

The archbishop indicted Cobham ; and with the assistance of the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was committed to the Tower, found means to make his escape before the day of execution.

The bold intrepid spirit of this man, inflamed by persecution and animated by zeal, prompted him to undertake the most criminal enterprizes ; and from his great and almost unlimited authority over those of his own sect, it appeared that he well deserved

deserved the attention of the civil magistrate.

He formed a most dangerous conspiracy against his enemies; and, dispatching his emissaries into all parts, appointed a general rendezvous of his adherents, in order to apprehend the person of the king at Eltham, and destroy all their persecutors by one signal and unexpected blow.*

Henry, informed of their design, withdrew to Westminster; Cobham, not in the least discouraged by this disappointment, shifted the scene of action, and fixed the rendezvous in the fields near St. Giles's: the king, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, in order to prevent the populace from issuing forth and joining the rebels, repaired to the fields in the dead of night, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards intercepted the several parties who were coming to the place appointed.

It appeared that few were privy to the plot; the rest followed their leaders with blind and implicit obedience: but, upon the trial of the prisoners, the treasonable designs of the party were fully discovered, both from circumstantial proof and from the confession of the criminals themselves.

Some

• A. D. 1414.

Some were capitally punished, though the greater number were indulged with a pardon. Cobham himself, who made his escape, was not apprehended till four years after, when he was hanged, drawn, and burned for heresy and treason. The king, not satisfied with having suppressed this rebellion, procured the parliament to pass some very severe laws against the new heretics.

It was enacted, that whoever was convicted of Lollardism before the ordinary, besides suffering death, according to the laws already established, should forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of peace, and all the chief magistrates in every city and borough, should bind themselves by an oath to exert their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of heresy.

The parliament was not so complaisant in another particular: when the king demanded a supply, they renewed the advice formerly given to his father, and earnestly besought him to seize all the ecclesiastical revenues, and apply them to the service of the public. The clergy were alarmed at this proposal: and finding the king but too much inclined to comply with the request of the commons, they resolved to give up part
of

of their wealth, in order to save the remainder ; they offered, as a free gift, the whole wealth and revenues of one hundred and ten monasteries, which depended upon capital abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to them when that province was united to England ; and Chicheley, now archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the king's attention to an object of another and more important nature, by persuading him to undertake a war against France, and attempt the recovery of his lost dominions.

The late king, among many other injunctions which he gave his son, had particularly advised him never to allow the English to remain long in a state of ease and inactivity, which was apt to engender civil broils and dissensions ; but to employ them in foreign wars and expeditions, by which the prince and the nobility might acquire glory and renown, and the people procure wealth and riches.

The natural disposition of Henry, which was remarkably bold and warlike, sufficiently prompted him to follow this advice ; and the intestine commotions, in which France had been long involved, and with which she was still distracted, furnished another argument to the same purpose.

The

The death of Charles V. which happened soon after that of Edward III. and the tender years of his son Charles VI. had thrown the two kingdoms into much the same situation ; and it was not likely, that either of them, during the reign of a minor, would be able to avail itself of the weakness of the other.

The animosities likewise between Charles's three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, had been as fatal to the tranquillity of France, as the disputes between the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, had been prejudicial to the peace of England ; and both nations, wholly occupied in their own concerns, had no leisure to turn their attention to the affairs of their neighbours.

But Charles had no sooner arrived at the years of discretion, than he found means to compose the factions of his kingdom : his two uncles, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, died ; and the king, taking the administration of affairs into his own hands, discovered such strong and repeated symptoms of genius and judgment, as contributed greatly to revive the drooping spirits of his subjects.

This happy prospect, however, was of short duration : the young prince was soon after

after seized with a violent phrenzy, which utterly disqualified him for the exercise of public authority; and, though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that the vigor of his mind, as well as the health of his body, was gradually weakened, and he became wholly incapable of managing the reins of government.

The administration of affairs was warmly disputed between his brother Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his cousin german, John duke of Burgundy: the former claimed it as nearest heir to the present sovereign; the latter alledged his superior power and interest, as he had lately united to the crown the whole county of Flanders, which he possessed in right of his mother; and the people were so equally divided between these mighty competitors, that neither of them, for a long time, was able to get the better of the other.

At length the two dukes, touched with compassion for the miseries of their country, and influenced by the persuasions of their common friends, agreed to a final accommodation of their differences, and resolved to sacrifice their private quarrels, to their regard for the welfare of the public.

They

They bound themselves by an oath ; they took the sacrament, as a proof that they would keep this friendship sacred and inviolate ; but all these solemn professions were only meant as a veil to cover a most villainous act of treachery, which the duke of Burgundy had resolved to execute. He caused his rival to be privately murdered in the streets of Paris : at first, he endeavoured to deny his knowledge of this atrocious crime ; but being afterwards detected, he not only avowed, but even justified the deed.

The parliament of Paris itself, the chief tribunal of justice, heard the speech of the duke's advocate in defence of assassination, which he thought proper to term *tyrannicide* ; and that assembly, partly biased by a spirit of faction, and partly intimidated by the threats of power, denounced no sentence of condemnation against that wicked and detestable doctrine.

The commission of this crime, and the impunity with which it was suffered to escape, were soon productive of the most fatal and pernicious effects : assassinations were every where committed, with equal wantonness and cruelty ; the provinces were wasted, by the mutual depredations of both parties ; the princes of the blood, conspiring with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, declared

declared open war against the duke of Burgundy: and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, and sometimes by another, conferred upon each alternately the sanction of royal authority.*

The whole nation was divided into two factions; the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs; so the partizans of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince: the butchers of Paris adhered to the former; the carpenters espoused the cause of the latter; and, while the different parts of the kingdom were involved in confusion and bloodshed, the capital was in danger of being reduced to ashes by the fury of the enraged populace.

The miserable condition of a private person, is frequently found to recommend him to the pity, rather than expose him to the violence of a fellow-creature; but the same rule seldom holds among crowned heads. As they have no superior, to whom they can submit the decision of their quarrels, and as power is the only instrument by which they commonly determine their differences, they seldom consider the justice of their cause, provided there be a probability of success.

Henry IV. who was not less ambitious than his son, had carefully fomented the animosity between the two French parties, each of which he had alternately furnished with assistance; and he would probably have endeavoured to avail himself of their dissensions, had not the unsettled state of his own affairs hindered him from carrying such a design into execution.

Henry V. did not labour under that disadvantage: he had ascended the throne without opposition: he possessed the good will and affection of all his subjects; and he was too sagacious not to perceive, and too prudent not to improve the tempting prospect, which the distracted state of the French monarchy presented to his view.

Nevertheless, that he might conceal his ambition under the specious appearance of equity, he resolved to begin by the way of treaty and negociation. With this view he dispatched ambassadors to Paris, proposing a perpetual peace and alliance between the two kingdoms, and demanding, in return, Catharine the French king's daughter in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, the payment of one million six hundred thousand as the arrears of king John's ransom, the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which Philip Augustus had wrested from the crown of England,

land, together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders.*

It is evident, from the exorbitant nature of these demands, that he was fully sensible of the distressed condition of the French monarchy; and the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, discovered their own consciousness of the same melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princess in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns; to invest him with the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the counties of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintogne, Angumois, and other territories. As Henry knew that his own terms would not be granted, and was fully determined to accept of no other, he still continued his war-

K 2

like

* It is related by some historians, that Henry having, in his first embassy, demanded the crown of France, the dauphin sent him in derision a box of tennis balls; thereby intimating that such implements of play were better adapted to his character and capacity, than the instruments of war. Henry was piqued at this sarcastic compliment; in answer to which he declared, that when his balls should be matched with racquets, he would play a game that would shake the walls of the Louvre. This story, however, is extremely improbable, considering the great concessions which were made by France; from whence it appears that the Dauphin did not entertain such a mean opinion of Henry's abilities as this account would seem to imply.

like preparations; and having assembled a great armament at Southampton, he repaired thither, in order to embark on his expedition.

But when he was just ready to set sail, he received intimation of a conspiracy formed against his person by Richard earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York, Henry lord Scrope of Masham, treasurer of England, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton in Northumberland.

The earl of Cambridge had married Anne Mortimer, daughter to Roger earl of Marche, by Philippa daughter and heir of Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. so that in right of this lady he was in blood nearer to the crown than Henry.

This plot was, in all probability, owing rather to the ambition of the earl of Cambridge, than to any regard he had for the earl of Marche, his brother-in-law, who had no issue, and upon whose death, he hoped that either himself or some of his children would succeed to the throne.

The design seems to have been concerted with as little prudence as it was successful in the event. They proposed to have raised an army in Scotland under the ridiculous pretence of Richard's being still alive; and at the same time to crown Mortimer in Wales as the lawful heir of that monarch.

Mortimer,

Mortimer, they knew, was a young nobleman of weak intellects ; he had often told Cambridge, that his confessor daily importuned him to claim the crown as his inheritance ; and they therefore thought they should find no difficulty in persuading him to countenance their design.

In these sentiments they exacted from him an oath of secrecy, and then acquainted him with the nature of the plan they had formed in his favour. His fear immediately overcame his ambition ; he begged he might have a few hours to consider of the matter, and forthwith communicated the whole conversation to Henry.

The conspirators were instantly seized and imprisoned in the castle of Southampton ; to the constable of which they confessed their guilt, and threw themselves upon the king's mercy ; Sir Thomas Grey was tried and condemned on this evidence by a common jury.

A commission was issued to the duke of Clarence, as high-steward, for trying the two noblemen by their peers. They pleaded guilty ; and the earl of Cambridge sent a very penitent and pathetic letter to Henry, imploring his mercy and forgiveness.

But this was a case in which the king could hardly shew his clemency with any

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regard to his own safety, or the tranquillity of the kingdom. The conspirators had formed the plot without the least shadow of provocation; and what they had done once, they would probably do again. The king was upon the eve of a great, and, perhaps, a tedious expedition, and it was natural to think that they would not let slip such a favourable opportunity of carrying their ambitious scheme into execution. He therefore found it necessary for the good of the public to allow the law to take its natural course: the earl and the knight were beheaded; and lord Scrope was hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, because his guilt was aggravated with ingratitude to the king, who had distinguished him with many particular marks of favour and affection.

This affair delayed the king's departure till the fifteenth day of August, when he set sail from Southampton with six thousand men at arms, four and twenty thousand archers, and about twenty thousand common infantry, on board of a fleet of fifteen hundred vessels.

After a quick and easy passage he landed at the mouth of the Seine in Normandy, about three leagues from Harfleur, the siege of which he immediately undertook.

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This place was bravely defended by the lords d'Estouteville, de Guitri, de Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility ; but as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, they were obliged to capitulate ; and they promised to surrender on the eighteenth of September, unless they were relieved in the interim.

The day came, and there was no appearance of any succours ; nevertheless, they still refused to perform their promise on various pretences ; till, at length, Henry, enraged at their perfidy, ordered a general assault to be given, took the town by storm, and at once to punish them for their breach of faith, and intimidate others from following their example, put a great part of the garrison to the sword.

The fatigues of this siege, and the excessive heat of the season, had so exhausted the English army, that Henry could attempt no other enterprize of any importance ; and was obliged to think of returning to England.

He had sent back his transports, which could not safely anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coast ; and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety.

In this march, however, he met with greater difficulties than he at first imagined.

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He found all the bridges over Somme broken down, and all the passes defended by strong detachments of the enemy. Nevertheless, he at last effected a passage near St. Quintin, and directed his route towards Blagney.

But he soon perceived that he had only escaped from one danger to fall into another: he saw the whole French army, amounting to one hundred thousand men, drawn up to oppose his progress.

In this distress he sent a message to the French constable, offering to restore Harfleur, to repair all the damage he had done to the French, and even to bind himself by an oath that he would never again invade France, provided they would allow him, without molestation, to continue his march to Calais.

The same offer had beed made by the Black Prince before the battle of Poitiers; and Henry's offer did not meet with a more favourable reception than that of Edward: the French rejected his proposal, and insisted that he and his army should surrender at discretion.

When he treated this demand with the contempt it deserved, they sent three heralds to challenge him to battle, and desired him to fix the time and place of action: he replied, that weakened and exhausted

hausted as his army now was, he would not seek an engagement: but as he was resolved to pursue his route to Calais, they might attack him when and where they should think proper.

Then they took post between Rousseauville and Agincourt, and sent him word that they would give him battle on the twenty-fifth day of October. Finding it impossible to avoid an action, he accepted the challenge, and presented the herald who brought it, with a rich robe and two hundred crowns.

During the three days which intervened between the challenge and the battle, Henry employed every means which prudence could suggest, in order to prepare his men for the approaching combat.

He procured them such refreshments as the nature of their situation would permit: he caused their weapons and armour to be repaired and refitted; he contrived a kind of sharp stakes for the defence of the archers: he was constantly upon horseback, riding through the ranks of his army, inspiring the soldiers with courage and resolution, and taking care that the most exact and regular discipline should be observed: he reminded his men of the fields of Cressy and Poitiers, where their forefathers, with a handful of troops, had discomfited immense

mense armies of the enemy : and, that they might derive courage from despair, he assured them that their only hopes of safety depended upon their own valour and intrepidity, as all prospect of assistance or escape was entirely cut off : in a word, he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that the English seemed to have lost all sense of distinction in numbers, and only wished for an opportunity of signalizing their valour and prowess.

This spirit remarkably appeared in an answer given by David Gam, a Welch captain, whom the king had sent to survey the posture of the enemy ; and who, being interrogated by his majesty concerning the number of the French, replied, with great composure, “ that there were “ enough of them to be killed, enough “ to be taken prisoners, and enough to “ run away.”

Far different from this prudent conduct of Henry, was the arrogant behaviour of the French generals. Puffed up with that vanity which is so peculiar to their nation, they haughtily boasted of their great superiority of numbers, and considered the handful of English, who did not exceed fourteen thousand, as miserable victims devoted to certain destruction.

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They were so confident of victory, that they played at dice for the English prisoners before they were taken, and sent orders to the neighbouring villages to prepare lodgings for those strangers ; and, on the morning of the engagement, their arrogance and presumption rose to such a pitch, that they dispatched another herald to Henry, to know what he intended to give for his ransom. This insolent message he received with that contempt and disdain which it so justly deserved ; and desired the herald to tell those who sent him, that a little time would soon determine to whom the ransom would belong.

On the day appointed for the battle, the two armies were marshalled early in the morning ; and the constable d'Albert, who commanded the French, was guilty of a capital error, in chusing a narrow piece of ground, flanked by a rivulet and a thick wood, where he could not extend his front so as to enclose the English ; and where his superior numbers, instead of being of any real service, would only prove a burden and encumbrance.

He divided his army into three bodies, and he himself commanded the first, attended by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, the famous mareschal de Boucicaut, great master

master of the cross-bows, the lord Dampier, admiral of France, the dauphin d'Auvergne, and several other officers of distinction.

The second line was conducted by the duke of Alençon, accompanied by the duke of Bar, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Roussi, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the direction of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Faquenberg, and the sieur de Lauroy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached about four hundred lances to take post in a wood upon the right, and a party of two hundred and fifty archers to lie in ambush on the left, in a low meadow covered with bushes.

In order to extend his front equal to that of the enemy, he was obliged to form his little army into one line, the right wing conducted by the duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope, was advanced a little before the center, which the king commanded in person, assisted by his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl mareschal, and the young earl of Suffolk, whose father had died at Harfleur.

The left, which was called the rear, as it had not advanced so far as the other

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two divisions, was led by the duke of Exeter; and nothing could be more prudent than this disposition, which was made by the direction of Sir Thomas Erpyngham, an old and experienced soldier, who acted as Henry's mareschal, and was the person who afterwards gave the signal for battle.

The king himself appeared in the front of the army, mounted on a stately white courser, in shining armour, with a golden crown fixed by way of crest to his helmet: four royal banners were displayed before him: he was followed by a great number of led horses in rich caparisons, and attended by the chief officers of his court and army.

He expected the enemy would have made the attack; but finding them backward to advance, he alighted from his horse, took his station in the main body, and ordered Sir Thomas Erpyngham to throw up his truncheon, as the signal for battle.

The whole line, raising a loud shout, rushed forward to the charge; but Henry, fearing they would be out of breath before they could come to close fight, commanded them to halt about mid-way, and there the archers planted their piquets, to defend themselves against the French cavalry.

The battle was begun by a flight of arrows, which made terrible havock among the enemy, who stood so thick that every shaft took place, and even pierced the armour of the French men at arms.

The English bowmen had advanced beyond their stakes, to make this general discharge; but observing the enemy's cavalry approaching to attack them, they retired behind their palisadoes with equal order and celerity, and overwhelmed them with such thick and repeated showers of arrows, that they were instantly thrown into confusion.

The troops that lay concealed on the right and left issued forth from their ambush, and charging them with irresistible fury, completed the disorder; while the archers, slinging their bows, rushed in among them with their battle-axes and daggers, and covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted and overthrown.

Though the first line of the enemy was now entirely defeated, and the constable with a great number of the principal officers were left dead upon the spot, yet the victory still remained undecided; the second line, commanded by the duke of Alençon, stood firm and eager to engage.

The English, who were fatigued with action, retiring behind the main body, to recruit

eruit their spirits, and form themselves anew, Henry in person led up his division to the charge ; and encouraged, as he was, by the success of his first effort, and prompted by his natural courage and intrepidity, he performed prodigies of valour which astonished not only his own army, but even that of the enemy.

While he thus exposed his person like the meanest soldier, eighteen French knights, who had conspired his death, cut a passage with their swords to the place where he fought, and one of them stunned him with a blow of his battle-ax, which, however, did not pierce his helmet.

In all likelihood he would have fallen a sacrifice to the furious assault of these confederates, had not David Gam, the Welch captain, and two other officers of the same nation, rushed in between him and the assailants, and sacrificed their lives for his safety. When he recovered his spirits, he found those three gallant soldiers dying of the wounds they had received in his defence, and knighted them as they lay upon the field of battle.

The eighteen French knights were killed upon the spot ; and Henry, become more desperate from the danger he had escaped, rushed into the hottest of the battle with redoubled impetuosity, until he and his

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brother Gloucester, who fought by his side, found themselves at a great distance from the troops they commanded.

In this dangerous situation Gloucester was felled to the ground by the stroke of a mace; and Henry covering him with his shield, sustained the attack of a whole host of enemies, until the duke of York came to his assistance. At that very instant he received a blow upon the head that made him stagger and fall upon his knees; but he recovered himself in a moment, and laid the aggressor at his feet.

His troops, animated by his example, rushed forward like one man, and attacked the foe with such irresistible fury, that they were presently put to flight; nor could all the endeavours of their officers induce them to form anew, or persuade them to oppose the assault of the English.

The duke of Alençon, seeing the defeat of the second division, and fearing that the third would have no better success, resolved to make one effort, in order to restore the battle, or save himself the mortification of surviving the disgrace of his country.

He put himself at the head of some chosen volunteers, and cutting his way to the place where Henry fought, cried out, that he was the duke of Alençon; then rushing upon

upon the English monarch, cleft his golden crown with the first stroke of his sword : he had not time to repeat the blow ; for Henry returned the salutation in such an effectual manner as brought him to the ground ; and with his own hand slew two of his attendants.

He would fain have saved the life of Allencon ; but the guards were so enraged at his attempt, that they killed him outright, before Henry could interpose effectually in his favour.

The death of this nobleman put an end to all farther opposition ; the enemy either betook themselves to a precipitate flight, or voluntarily offered their throats to the swords of the victors.

The third line was still entire, and much more numerous than the whole English army. They were fresh and vigorous, while the conquerors were exhausted with the fatigue of the action, joined to a weakness occasioned by a dysentery with which they were seized, and which was so violent, that they are said to have fought without breeches, to save the trouble of untrussing : but the third division of the French were so dispirited by the defeat of the other two lines, and the terrible havock which had been made among their countrymen, that they refused to obey the command of their

generals ; and, instead of advancing to the charge, retired from the field of battle : though they still continued in a firm and compact body, until Henry sent a herald to acquaint them, that, should they remain in that posture until he could overtake them, he would put them all to the sword, without mercy. Alarmed at this declaration, they instantly dispersed, and left him complete master of the field.

Hardly had he gained this signal victory, when he thought himself in danger of seeing it wrested from his hands. He was informed that the enemy were in his rear, and had already taken possession of his camp.

Imagining they intended to renew the battle, he instantly commanded all the prisoners, who were more numerous than his own men, to be put to the sword, except a few of the most distinguished quality ; and this cruel, though perhaps necessary order, was presently executed. He then marched towards the camp, and found it already pillaged by a party of fugitives, headed by Robert de Bouronville, who fled at his approach.

Nothing now remaining to oppose his victorious arms, he offered his humble and grateful acknowledgments to heaven for this extraordinary success ; and proclaimed, that

that it should be ascribed to no other but God alone.

Then he commanded a French herald, named Montjoy, to declare to whom the victory belonged ; and he adjudging it to English, the king asked the name of a neighbouring castle, to which he pointed with his finger. Being told that it was called Agincourt ; " Hencesforward, then," said he, " this action shall be named the battle of Agincourt."

In this memorable battle, which began about ten in the morning and lasted till five in the afternoon, the French lost the constable d'Albert, the duke of Alençon, who was a prince of the blood, the duke of Brabant, and the count de Nevers, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bar, the counts de Vaudemont, Marle, Roussi, Faquenberg, several other officers of great distinction, and about ten thousand private men, killed upon the spot.

Among the prisoners, who were very numerous before the massacre, the English found the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, Estouteville, the mareschal de Boucicaut, and sixteen hundred persons of distinction ; but the loss of the English was extremely inconsiderable, no person of any consequence having been slain, except the duke of York,

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the young earl of Suffolk, four knights, and one esquire.

The three great battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, bear a strong resemblance to each other, in their most material circumstances. In all of them, there appears the same rashness in the English princes, who, with an handful of men, ventured into the heart of the enemy's country, without leaving themselves any resource; and the same policy and address in the French, who surrounded them in such a manner that they could not possibly escape, without coming to a battle: but, what is of far greater consequence, and more strongly marks the different characters of the two nations; there appears, in the time of action, the same courage, resolution, and unconquerable spirit, on the part of the former; the same vanity, arrogance, and pusillanimity, on the part of the latter; and the events were such as might naturally be expected from such opposite behaviour: the French were defeated and slain, with all their superiority of number; the English proved victorious, when every thing, but heaven and their own courage, seemed to threaten them with utter destruction.

These signal victories too were attended with the same or similar consequences: the

the English monarchs, instead of pursuing the blow they had given, and endeavouring to avail themselves of the consternation of the enemy, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and allowed the French time to recruit their spirits.

Immediately after the battle of Agincourt, Henry continued his march to Calais, from whence he went over to England, and he even concluded a truce with the enemy; nor was it till after an interval of two years that France was troubled with another invasion of the English.

The parliament was so much charmed with the lustre of Henry's character, and the great success of his arms, that they cheerfully granted him a liberal supply towards defraying the expences of the campaign.

They voted him an entire fifteenth of their moveables; and bestowed on him for life the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather.

During this interruption of hostilities from England, France was involved in all the miseries and calamities of a civil war; and the several parties persecuted each other with redoubled rancour and animosity.

The duke of Burgundy, concluding that the French ministers and generals must have lost

lost all their credit and influence, by the miscarriage at Agincourt, advanced to Paris with a great army, and endeavoured to re-establish himself in the possession of the government, as well as of the king's person; but the Dauphin, though his own son-in-law, opposed his attempt with so much vigour, that he was obliged to relinquish the project, and retire with his forces, which he immediately dispersed in the Low Countries.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, he was next year encouraged to make a fresh attempt, by some violent quarrels that broke out in the royal family.*

The queen Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had hitherto opposed the Burgundian faction with all her interest, had received a great injury from the other party, which her high spirit could never forgive.

The count d'Armagnac, who succeeded d'Albert in the post of constable, had been obliged, on account of the emptiness of the public treasury, to seize the riches which Isabella had amassed; and when she remonstrated against such an unjust and unprecedented measure, he infused into the weak mind of the king some jealousies against her conduct, and persuaded him to arrest and put to the torture, and afterwards

* A. D. 1416.

wards to throw into the Seine, Bois-bourdon, her favourite, whom he accused of a criminal commerce with that princess.

The queen herself was banished to Tours, and confined under a guard ; and inflamed, as might naturally be expected, with the highest resentment at these injuries, she at once renounced her former connexions, and espoused the cause of the duke of Burgundy.

As her son, the Dauphin Charles, a youth of sixteen, was entirely under the influence of the faction of Armagnac, she conceived an implacable animosity against him, and even sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred ; nor was she long before she found an opportunity of effecting her unnatural purpose.

The duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a powerful army : he soon reduced Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreuil, and other towns in Picardy ; Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themselves for his party. He made himself master of the Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, and Meulant, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, and advancing westward, subdued Estampes, Chartres, and other fortresses ; and was at last able to deliver the queen, who repaired to Troye, and declared openly against those ministers, who, as she alledged, detained her husband in captivity.

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In the mean time, the adherents of the duke of Burgundy raised an insurrection in Paris, which was always attached to the interest of that faction. Lisle-Adam, one of the duke's captains, found means to enter the city in the night, and put himself at the head of the insurgents, who soon encreased to such a number, that they bore down all before them. The king himself was seized; the dauphin escaped with great difficulty; the chief partizans of the Armagnac faction were put to the sword; the count himself, and several of his friends, were thrown into prison; murders were daily committed from private feuds, under pretence of public differences; and the enraged and desperate populace, not chusing to wait for the slow decisions of law, burst open the prisons, and butchered the count d'Armagnac, and all the other noblemen, who had been committed to custody.*

While France was thus distracted with civil commotions, the king of England, having replenished his coffers and assembled an army, passed over into Normandy, at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter.

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* A. D. 1417.

He soon subdued Falaise, Cherbourg, Evreux, Caen, and Pont de l'Arche; and having reduced all the lower Normandy, and received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men from England, he undertook the siege of Rouen, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, assisted by the inhabitants to the number of fifteen thousand.*

While he lay before this place, the cardinal des Ursins repaired to his camp, and endeavoured to persuade him to moderate his terms, and agree to an equitable peace; but the king's answer plainly shewed that he was fully determined to avail himself of the present situation of public affairs “ Do you not see,” said he, “ that God has brought me hither, as it were, by the hand? The throne of France may be said to be vacant; I have a good title to that crown; the whole kingdom is involved in the utmost disorder and confusion; few are willing, and still fewer are able, to resist me. Can I have a more certain proof of the interposition of heaven in my favour; and that the supreme ruler of all things has decreed, that I should ascend the throne of France?”

Whether Henry was serious in making this declaration, or only meant to frighten the enemy into a compliance with his former demands; certain it is, that he still continued his negotiations with both parties; with the queen and the duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, being in possession of the king's person, enjoyed the appearance of legal authority; and with the dauphin on the other, who, as he was the undoubted heir of the crown, was strongly supported by all those who wished well to the interest of their country.

These two factions, likewise, were perpetually engaged in mutual negotiations with each other: and the terms offered by all parties were constantly shifting, according to the different events of the war, and the greater or less prevalence of the intrigues of the cabinet.

At last, Henry proposed to the queen, and the duke of Burgundy, to agree to a final and solid peace, provided he might have the princess Catherine in marriage, together with all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny, and the dutchy of Normandy, with its full and entire sovereignty.

This proposal was readily embraced; and nothing delayed the conclusion of the treaty, but a few trivial circumstances, which could

could easily be settled; but, in the mean time, the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy having compromised their difference, resolved to share the royal authority between them during the life of his present majesty, and to exert their joint efforts in delivering the kingdom from foreign enemies.*

This agreement, which seemed so prejudicial to the interest of Henry, was the very circumstance that contributed most to his success.

Whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their professions of friendship we will not pretend to determine; certain it is their seeming union was productive of the most fatal effects. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the most proper means of carrying their scheme into execution; but how both or either of them could come to this conference with any regard to their own safety, it was not so easy to determine.

The assassination committed by the duke of Burgundy, and, what was still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the practice, tended to destroy all the ties of civil society; and even those who abhorred

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* A. D. 1419.

the example, might yet think it reasonable to make the author feel the natural consequences of his own doctrine.

The duke, therefore, who could neither give nor demand any confidence, agreed to all the expedients for mutual security, which could be devised by the ministers of the Dauphin. The two princes repaired to Montereau; the duke took up his quarters in the castle, and the Dauphin in the town, which was separated from the castle by the river Yonne: the bridge between them was chosen for the place of meeting: two rails were fixed on the bridge: the gates, on each side were to be guarded, the one by the officers of the Dauphin, the other by those of the duke: the princes were to meet on the middle of the bridge, attended each by ten persons; and with all these symptoms of jealousy and distrust, to confirm and establish their mutual friendship.

But vain are all the precautions of human prudence where laws have no place, and where all the principles of honour are abandoned! Tannegui de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's attendants, were zealous friends of the house of Orleans; and they resolved to revenge the murder of the late duke by the death of the assassin: they no sooner entered the rails, than they unsheathed their swords, and rushed upon the duke

duke of Burgundy: his friends, confounded at this unexpected assault, were utterly incapable of making any defence; and all of them were either slain, or taken prisoners by the attendants of the dauphin.

The state of affairs was totally changed by this event. The Parisians were exasperated at the death of their favourite: the courtiers of king Charles entered into the same views; and as they had all owed their preferment to the late duke, and apprehended their downfall, if the dauphin should recover the administration of public affairs, they were concerned in interest to defeat the success of that prince.

The queen, still retaining her unnatural hatred against her son, increased the public odium under which he already laboured, and inspired her husband with the same unfavourable sentiments of his heir and successor.

But the person who pursued him with the most implacable rancour, was Philip count de Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, who thought himself bound by every tye of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to effect the ruin of the base and perfidious assassin: and amidst this general transport of passion, all regard to national interest and family con-

nexions was readily sacrificed to the gratification of private animosity and resentment.

The king of England did not fail to avail himself of the spirit of discord and dissension with which the French court was then distracted. He had lately reduced Rouen, Pontoise, and Gisors: he even threatened Paris with a siege, and by the terror of his arms, had compelled the court to retire to Troye: and amidst all these successes he had the pleasure to find that his enemies, instead of exerting their joint efforts in order to oppose his progress, were ready to espouse his cause, and to employ him as the instrument of wreaking their vengeance upon each other.

A treaty was forthwith concluded at Arras between him and the duke of Burgundy. That prince, without stipulating any thing for himself, except the punishment of his father's murderers, and the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bedford, was willing to sacrifice the independence of his country to Henry's ambition, and he chearfully complied with every demand which was made by the English monarch.

In order to complete that extraordinary treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger; Henry, attended by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester,

Gloucester, repaired to Troye, where he was met by the duke of Burgundy.* As the one party was readily disposed to agree to every proposal that should be made by the other, there was no difficulty in adjusting the articles.

The principal of these were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catherine without a dower: that he should not interrupt king Charles in the enjoyment of his crown, nor intermeddle with the revenues of the realm during the life of that monarch: that the queen should be allowed to preserve her dignity in the same manner as formerly: that after the death of Charles, the crown of France should devolve upon the king of England and his heirs for ever: that, on account of the disorder of king Charles, which rendered him incapable of managing the reins of government, the king of England should assume the administration of public affairs, in quality of regent, even during the life of his father-in-law: that the princes, noblemen, communities, and burghers of the kingdom, should take an oath to the king of England, as regent, promising to acknowledge him for their sovereign after the death of Charles: that though France and England

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should for ever be united under one king, they should retain their several laws, customs, and privileges: that Henry should join his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the pretended dauphin: that these three princes should make no peace nor truce with him but by common consent and agreement: that the king of France should furnish the king of England with letters patent under his great seal, as a confirmation and security for the faithful performance of these articles: that letters of the same nature should be signed by the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and the peers of the realm, in clear and express terms, free from all ambiguity or equivocation; and that letters of the same import should be granted by the king of England.

These articles being fully adjusted, the treaty was signed and ratified with the usual formalities, the queen and the duke of Burgundy acting as proxies for king Charles.

Henry was sensible that he owed these important advantages to the feuds and animosities which now prevailed in the courts of France and Burgundy; and that he should be in danger of losing them the moment the French nobility recovered the use of their reason and reflexion.

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He, therefore, wisely resolved to give them no time for repentance : he instantly married the princess Catharine : he conducted his father in-law to Paris, of which he took immediate possession : he prevailed upon the parliament and the three estates to ratify the treaty of Troye : he assisted the duke of Burgundy in obtaining a sentence against the murderers of his father : and he then turned his arms against the partizans of the dauphin, who was no sooner informed of the treaty of Troye, than he assumed the style and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the support and defence of his title.

The first place which Henry reduced was Sens, which submitted after a faint opposition. With the same ease he subdued Montereau.

The siege of Melun was attended with greater difficulty : Barbazan, the governor, defended the place with the most invincible obstinacy for the space of four months ; nor did he surrender until he was compelled by famine.

Henry promised to spare the lives of all the garrison, except such as had been concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy ; and as Barbazan himself was strongly suspected of having been one of the assassins, the present duke insisted upon his

his immediate punishment ; but Henry, who admired him for his brave and gallant defence, interceded in his favour and prevented his execution, though he was committed to close custody in the Chateau-Galliard, where he remained a prisoner for upwards of twenty years.

Henry's coffers being now almost exhausted, he was obliged to make a voyage to England, in order to procure a fresh supply; and, in the mean time, he committed the government of Paris to his uncle the duke of Exeter.*

The English parliament were so much charmed with the success of his arms, that they readily granted him a large subsidy for the prosecution of the war ; though, at the same time, they presented an address to his majesty, in which they observed that the conquest of France would probably be the ruin of England, which would be in danger of becoming a province of the former kingdom.

Henry assured them, that he would never allow any of his conquests to prove detrimental to his natural subjects ; and, having assembled a new army of twenty-four thousand archers, and four thousand horsemen, he repaired to Dover, in order to embark his forces.

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* A. D. 1421.

The city of Paris had remained in a state of perfect tranquillity ever since his departure; but an unlucky event had happened in another part of the kingdom, which quickened his return to the Continent.

The captivity of the Scottish king, who still continued a prisoner in England, had been of great service to Henry, as, by keeping the regent in awe, it had secured the tranquillity of the northern counties. But the Scots were no sooner informed of the great and unexpected success of Henry's arms in France, and the probable prospect of his ascending the throne of that kingdom, than they presently took the alarm, and plainly foresaw their own inevitable ruin, if, by the junction of the French and English monarchies, they should have to contend with the united force of both these kingdoms, while at present they were hardly able to defend themselves against the power of the latter.

The regent entertained the same apprehensions; and though he thought it imprudent to declare an open war against England, he allowed a body of seven thousand Scots, under the conduct of the earl of Buchan, his second son, to be sent into France for the service of the dauphin.

Henry

Henry endeavoured to hinder these allies from performing any effectual service, by carrying the king of Scots along with him into France, and obliging him to send orders to his countrymen to abandon the party of the dauphin; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince, while in the hands of his conqueror, had no right to exercise the royal authority.

These troops, therefore, still continued to assist the dauphin, and were employed in opposing the progress of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies met at Baugé, and, after an obstinate engagement, the English were defeated; the duke himself was slain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scottish knight, who commanded a company of men at arms; and the earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon, were taken prisoners.

This was the first action which turned the scale in favour of the dauphin, who, in order to engage the Scots more firmly in his interest, and reward the bravery and conduct of the earl of Buchan, bestowed upon that nobleman the office of constable of France.

But the arrival of the king of England, with such a numerous army, was more than sufficient

sufficient to compensate for this loss. Henry entered Paris amidst the shouts and acclamations of the citizens, who now seemed to be heartily reconciled to his government; and he immediately led his army to Chartres, which had been long invested by the dauphin.

That prince retired on the approach of the English monarch, who soon made himself master of Dreux, and then laid siege to Meaux at the desire of the Parisians, who were greatly harrassed by the garrison of that place.

This enterprize employed the English arms for the space of eight months: the bastard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, made a most brave and obstinate defence; but was at last compelled to surrender at discretion.

The bravery of this officer was only exceeded by his cruelty: he was wont to hang, without distinction of age or quality, all the English and Burgundians who fell into his hands; and Henry, highly incensed at such a barbarous and shocking practice, caused him to be immediately hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

The loss of this place gave a fatal blow to the affairs of the dauphin, who was soon after stripped of all the other towns which

he held in the neighbourhood of Paris : he was driven beyond the Loire, and his forces were expelled from almost all the northern provinces : he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction : notwithstanding the undaunted bravery and incorruptible fidelity of his officers and soldiers, he found himself unable to cope with the enemy in the open field : he therefore resolved to act on the defensive, and industriously to avoid every opportunity of coming to a regular engagement.

Henry's affairs were now in a most prosperous situation : by his mild, and gentle government, he had secured the internal tranquillity of England : by keeping the King of Scots in his custody, he prevented the subjects of that prince from making any incursions into the northern counties : by his prudent and vigorous conduct, and by a concurrence of favourable circumstances, he had, in the space of a few years, made himself master of almost the whole kingdom of France ; and to complete his joy, and render his glory as lasting as it was great, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name ; whose birth was celebrated with as much pomp at Paris as at London,

London, and who was universally considered as the future heir of both monarchies.

But when Henry had almost attained the summit of human grandeur, his course was stopped short by the hand of nature; and all his mighty projects vanished into air. He was seized with a violent dysentery, which soon reduced him to such a low condition, that all hopes of his recovery were entirely lost.

When he found his end approaching, he sent for the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and all the English noblemen who happened to be near him, that they might hear his last injunctions.

Raising himself in his bed, and accosting them with a cheerful countenance, he observed that his reign, though short, had been glorious; that though his wars had occasioned a great deal of bloodshed, it could not justly be laid to his charge, but to that of the French, who would not agree to reasonable terms of peace: that, for his own part, he beheld the approach of death without the least concern; but could not help lamenting the fate of the prince his son, who, being an infant, could not finish the work he had so happily begun.

He, therefore, conjured them, in the name of God, to preserve an inviolable

fidelity and attachment to the young prince who was born to be their sovereign; to take particular care of his education, and comfort the queen in her affliction: he exhorted them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; to detain the prisoners who had been taken at Agincourt, until his son should be capable of managing the reins of government; and whatever accommodation they might think necessary to make with France, to preserve to the crown of England the free and entire sovereignty of Normandy. Finally, he expressed a desire, that the duke of Bedford might assume the administration of France, and that the duke of Gloucester might act as regent of England during his son's minority.

Having thus delivered his sentiments concerning the management of public affairs, he next enquired of his physicians how long they thought he could live: at first they were afraid to give their opinion; but finding that he insisted upon an answer, one of them kneeled by the bedside, and, with tears in his eyes, declared, that, without a miracle, two hours would put a period to his life.

He heard this dreadful sentence with the most perfect composure, and having confessed his sins, ordered his chaplains to read the seven penitential psalms. When they came

came to that passage of the fifty-first Psalm; “ build thou the walls of Jerusalem;” he interrupted them, and declared, on the word of a dying prince, that it was his intention, as soon as he should have re-established the tranquillity of France, to have undertaken a crusade against the infidels in Palestine.

This exercise of devotion being finished, Henry expired on the thirty-first day of August, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a glorious reign of nine years, five months and eleven days. His body was brought over to England, and buried at Westminster among his ancestors with a pomp and magnificence becoming the splendour of his reign; and the queen, in order to perpetuate the memory of such an illustrious consort, placed upon his tomb his statue of silver as big as the life, which it perfectly resembled.

Henry was in stature somewhat above the middle size: he had a beautiful countenance, a long neck, a thin and slender body, fine and elegant limbs; and was possessed of a surprizing degree of strength and agility. He excelled all his contemporaries in personal courage and military prowess. He was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring the extre-

mities of cold, hunger, and fatigue, than almost any soldier in his army.

He was endued with many eminent virtues ; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. Religious without superstition, just without rigour, and complaisant with a becoming dignity, he at once engaged the affections, and commanded the esteem of all around him.

Regulating his own conduct by the laws of his country, he took care that all his subjects should square their actions by the same invariable standard. Not more tenacious of the prerogatives of his crown, than tender of the privileges of the people, he always lived with his parliament in the most perfect harmony and concord ; he never demanded a supply which they did not readily give ; and never refused to grant a petition which they thought proper to prefer.

But the chief lustre of Henry's character depends upon his warlike achievements : his valour was such as no danger could startle and no difficulty oppose : he seems to have been blessed with a self-taught genius, that blazed out at once without the aid of instruction

instruction or experience; and the same restless and active spirit, which, during his younger years, hurried him into some irregularities, when at last restrained and directed by the maxims of prudence and discretion, prompted him to attempt, and enabled him to accomplish those great and glorious enterprizes, which, at once, charm and astonish the reader.

In a word, were we to ransack all the records of ancient and of modern times, we shall hardly find a hero, whose character bears a more striking resemblance to that of Alexander the great.

Both princes were trained up to arts as well as arms, under the inspection of parents who themselves were perfectly well acquainted with both. Their fathers drew the happy omens of their sons future fortunes, from the excellent dispositions which they perceived in them before they arrived to man's estate. Alexander derived the same advantages from the divisions of Greece, which Henry did from the commotions of France. Both of them became the protectors of the family which they had formerly persecuted; and each of them was subdued by the charms of his enemy's daughter.

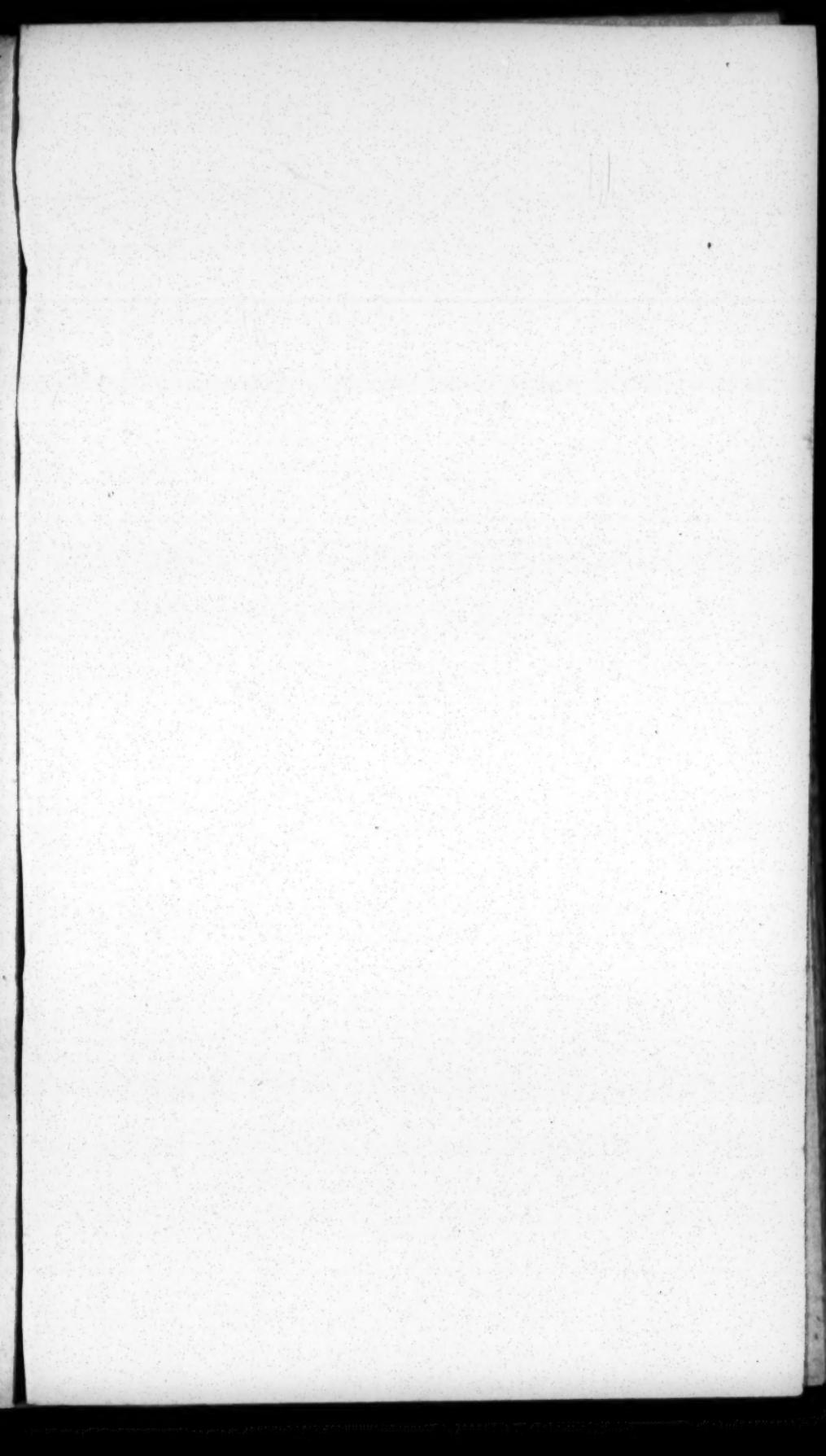
Henry reduced many a town more strong and impregnable than the city of Tyre; but

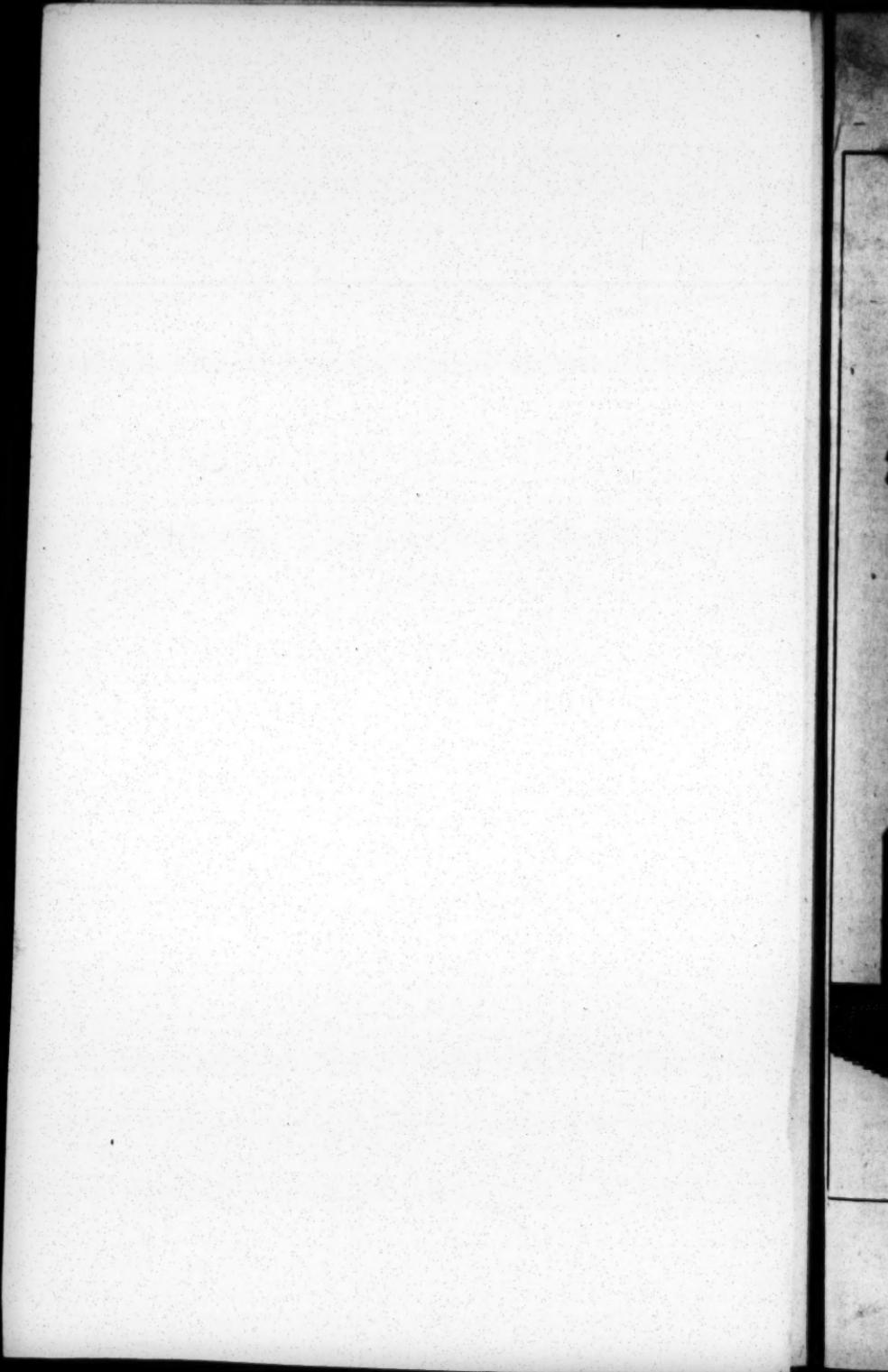
but Alexander never fought a battle so glorious and important, as that of Agincourt. Henry had many difficulties to encounter, from which Alexander was entirely free : the latter had only to contend with the Persians and Indians, who were then the most lazy, luxurious, and effeminate people in the universe ; but the former had to cope with the French, who, at that time, were as good soldiers as any in Europe, and, except in the use of the bow, were, in every point of military discipline, equal to the English themselves.

But the resemblance between these two monarchs, appears most strongly in the fortunes of their families : for though both of them, at their death, committed the administration of their affairs to men of the most distinguished abilities ; yet both their mighty empires were soon torn in pieces, and the sceptre snatched from the hands of their successors, because these princes were not possessed of those excellent virtues by which their predecessors had preserved their authority.*

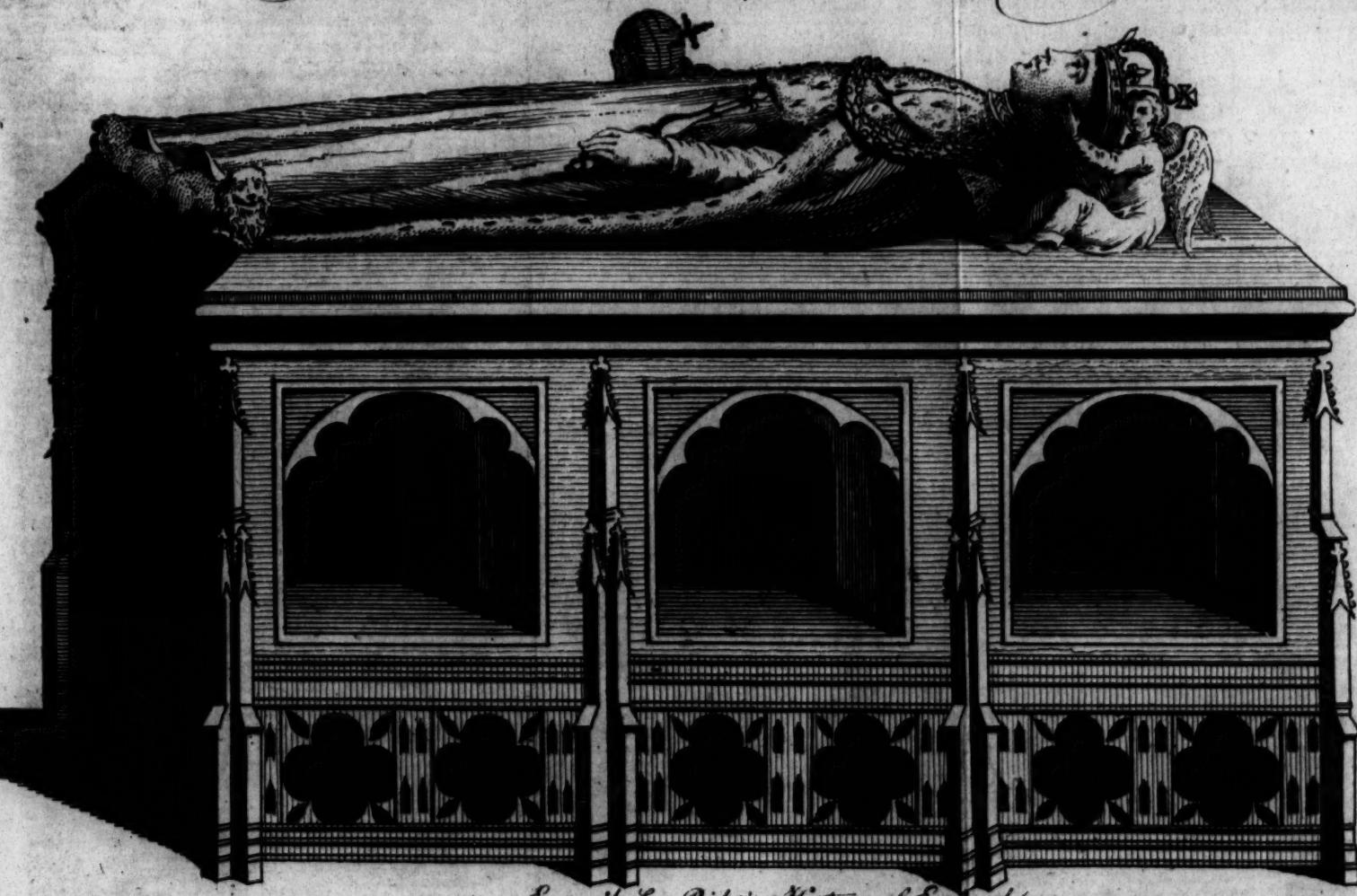
H E N R Y

* Henry left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one son, not full nine months old. His widow, soon after his death, married a Welch gentleman, named Sir Owen Tudor, and said to be sprung from the ancient princes of that country : she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the elder was created earl



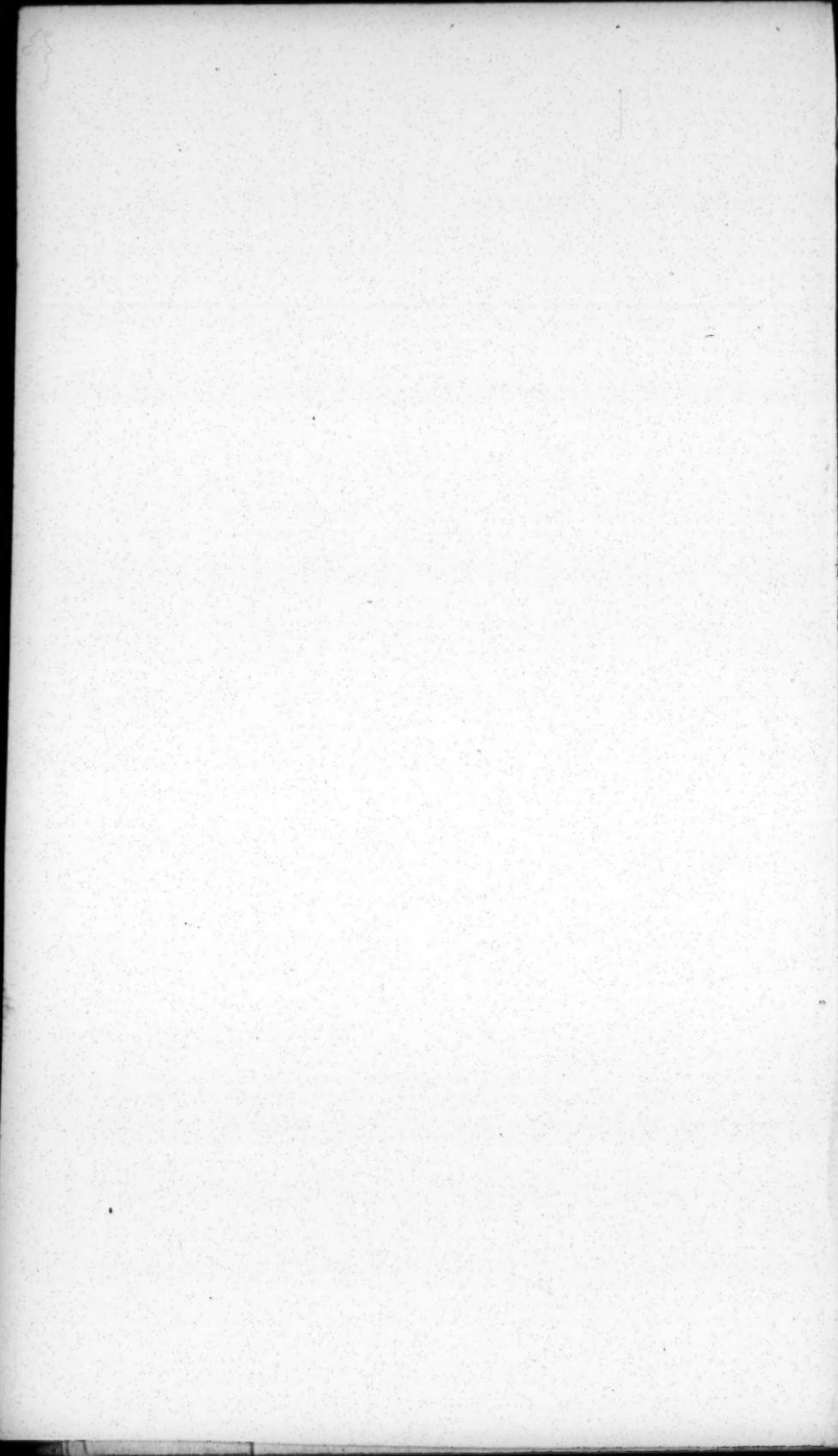


The Monument of K. Henry the 5 in Westminster Abbey.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

J. Sturt sculp.



earl of Richmond; the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, which was first raised to distinction by this alliance, afterwards ascended the throne of England.

The first commission of Array, which occurs in the English history, was issued in the course of this reign. The military part of the feudal system was now entirely abolished; and could no longer serve for the defence or security of the kingdom. For this reason, when Henry went to France in 1415, he empowered certain commissioners to take a review of all the free-men in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in a constant readiness to oppose any attempts that might be made by the enemy.

From the most faithful and authentic accounts it appears that the annual revenues of the crown, during this reign, amounted to fifty-five thousand, seven hundred and fourteen pounds, ten shillings, and ten pence. This is nearly the same with the revenues of Henry III. and the kings of England, in the course of so many years, had neither become more rich or more poor. Of this sum, the ordinary expences of the government consumed fifty-two thousand five hundred and seven pounds, sixteen shillings, and ten pence; so that the king, for the support of his household and wardrobe, and for defraying the charges of embassies and other articles, had only three thousand two hundred and six pounds and fourteen shillings.

From the most early times, till the reign of Edward III. the denomination of money had never been altered. A pound sterling was still a pound Troy; that is, about three pounds of our present money. That conqueror was first obliged to make an innovation in this article. In the twentieth year of his reign, he coined twenty-two shillings out of a pound troy; and in his twenty-seventh year, he coined twenty-five shillings. Henry V. who was likewise a

con-

HENRY VI. surnamed of
WINDSOR.*

THE authority of the most absolute monarch is commonly found to expire with him. The death of Henry V. was no sooner known, than the English parliament assembled, and, without paying any regard to the verbal destination of the late king, they took the liberty of modelling anew the whole administration.

They declined the title of regent, with respect to England: they appointed the duke of Bedford to be protector of the kingdom; a title which, in their opinion, conveyed the idea of less authority: they invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity, during the absence of his brother; and, in order to confine the power of both these princes within proper bounds, they nominated a council, without whose advice

conqueror, raised the value of money still higher; and coined thirty shillings from a pound troy: his revenue, therefore, would be about one hundred and ten thousand pounds of our present money; and, by the cheapness of provisions, would be equivalent to above three hundred and thirty thousand pounds,

HENRY VI.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England



advice and approbation no step of importance could be taken.

The person and education of the infant prince, were committed to the care of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; who, as his family could never have any claim to the crown, might safely, they thought, be entrusted with such an important charge.

The two princes, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, might think themselves injured by this plan of government; yet, being noblemen who were warmly attached to the interest of their country, they readily agreed to any measure that seemed to secure the tranquillity of the public; and as they were bent upon the prosecution of the French war, they carefully avoided every dispute that might divert their attention from this favourite object.

Charles VI. of France, survived his son-in-law but fifty days; and his death occasioned a total revolution in the affairs of that kingdom. Many French noblemen, who thought it their duty to obey the king without enquiring strictly whether his commands were conducive to the interest of their country, now considered themselves as under the same obligations to the dauphin, notwithstanding the treaty of Troye, which was

was merely the effect of fraud and compulsion.

The duke of Bedford was too sagacious not to perceive these sentiments of the French nobility, and to foresee the consequences that must naturally result from such a disposition.

Accordingly the eyes of Charles were no sooner closed, than he proclaimed Henry king of France, and assumed the title of regent, pursuant to the will of his late brother. He then convoked all the French noblemen who espoused the cause of young Henry, to whom they immediately took an oath of allegiance; and the same security was exacted from all the towns that were under the dominion of the English.

After the conclusion of this ceremony, the council of France and the city of Paris sent deputies to London, to congratulate the young king upon his accession to the thrones of both kingdoms; at the same time, they were ordered to pass through the Low Countries, and exhort the duke of Burgundy to adhere steadily to the articles of his alliance.

While the duke of Bedford was taking these prudent measures, in order to support the interest of his young nephew, the dauphin was no less active in concerting the means of strengthening his own party.

He

He was at Esplay, an house belonging to the bishop of Puy, when he heard of his father's death, and he had no sooner received the mournful tidings, than he caused himself to be proclaimed king of France, and repaired to Poitiers, where he was crowned with all the pomp and solemnity which the situation of his affairs would permit.

He was master of Languedoc, Dauphiné, Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, part of Sain-togne, the town of Rochelle, and Poitou; and besides these provinces he looked upon Provence, Maine, and Anjou, as countries on whose fidelity he could depend.

On the other hand, Henry was possessed of Normandy and Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, La Brie, the Isle of France, and the city of Paris, besides the two Burgundies, Flanders and Artois, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy, his vassal and ally.

Hence it appears, that the war might have been carried on in all the provinces of France, except Bretagne, which observed an exact neutrality; though the scene of action was chiefly confined to Picardy, Champagne, La Brie, and the Isle of France; because the English were desirous of driving the dauphin's garrisons out of these provinces, before they would attack him on the other side of the Loire; and it was the

interest of Charles to exert his utmost efforts in those countries, that his enemies might not be able to carry the war into the more southern provinces.

John V. duke of Bretagne still continued to remain neuter, as well as his brother Arthur count de Richemont; though both of them inclined towards the English interest. The duke of Burgundy resolved to adhere punctually to the articles of his alliance, on account of his implacable hatred against Charles, who had been the principal instrument of his father's murder.

Lewis III. duke of Anjou and king of Sicily was strongly attached to the interest of Charles, who had married his sister. The count de Foix and his brother espoused the cause of Henry; though they afterwards changed their party.

The houses of Armagnac and Albert had at first declared for the English; but now they altered their sentiments, and engaged in the interest of Charles. The duke of Orleans, and his brother the count de Angouleme, were both prisoners in England; but Charles was supported by their friends and adherents.

John duke of Alençon, and his brother Peter the bastard, who was esteemed one of the most accomplished generals of the age, engaged in the same party. John duke of Bourbon

Bourbon, being a prisoner in England, could have no personal concern in this quarrel; but his eldest son, the count de Clermont, preserved an inviolable attachment to Charles, for whose service he kept all the places belonging to his father.

The principal officers of Charles were; the Scottish earl of Buchan, first cousin to James I. king of Scotland, and who was honoured with the dignity of constable of France after the battle of Baugé; the marshals Fayette and Severac, Andrew Delaval lord of Loheac, John de Harcourt count of Aumale, John de la Haye lord of Cologne, Culant, who afterwards became high admiral, Aymer viscount of Narbonne, Pothon de Xaintrailles, Stephen de la Hire, called otherwise Vignoles, and Graville; and lastly, the bastard of Orleans, who had just begun to distinguish himself by his military achievements.

The chief personages of his court were, first the queen, Mary of Anjou, a princess no less remarkable for the beauty of her person than the qualities of her mind; though Charles, in other respects a virtuous prince, was so unaccountable as to neglect her charms in order to indulge himself in less honourable amours: her mother Yolante of Arragon queen of Sicily, who was greatly esteemed for her virtue and capacity:

pacity : Tannegui de Chatel was the principal favourite of Charles ; he was the assassin of the duke of Burgundy, and the person who persuaded his master to have recourse to that treacherous expedient : Louvet, president of Provence, had the care of the finances ; he was a haughty and avaricious minister, and always preferred his own interest to that of his master : La Tremouille, descended from a very ancient family, maintained the third rank at the court of Charles : and of inferior note were De Giac and Le Camus de Beaulieu, who were mere creatures of the president Louvet.

Among the officers and adherents of Henry, he that occupied the first place was his uncle the duke of Bedford, regent of France, one of the most accomplished princes in Europe, whether we consider him as a soldier or a statesman.

He was assisted in France by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Arundel, Sir John Fastolfe, Talbot, and other officers alike distinguished for their personal courage and military prowess.

Besides these, the duke of Burgundy had three generals, who, as they served the same interest, deserve to be ranked among the English officers, on account of the noble achievements they performed. These were John of Luxembourg, count de Ligny, son of Valeran

Valeran de Luxembourg constable of France: Lisle-Adam, mareschal of France, a bold and enterprizing warriour, who had been committed to the Bastile by Henry V. and lately restored to liberty by the duke of Bedford; and Toulongeou, commonly called the mareschal of Burgundy.

The young king's court in England was composed of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who was equal to his brother Bedford in courage and abilities, but greatly inferior in temper and moderation: Thomas Beaufort duke of Exeter: his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, a prelate of great wealth, arrogance, and ambition: their nephew, the earl of Somerset: Richard duke of York, son of Richard earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded at Southampton, and grandson of Edmund de Langley, fiftieth son of Edward III. a prince who afterwards claimed the crown as heir of Mortimer: Humphrey earl of Strafford, son of Anne of Gloucester, daughter to the unhappy duke whom Richard II. caused to be murdered at Calais: Henry earl of Essex, uterine brother to the earl of Strafford, and married to Isabella sister of the duke of York: Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, allied to the royal family by his marriage with Jean Beaufort, sister to the duke of Exeter and the bishop of Winchester: Tho-

mas Courtney earl of Devonshire, married to a sister of the earl of Somerset : Henry Talbot matched with a sister of the earl of Essex : Henry Holland earl of Huntingdon, descended from an uterine sister of Richard II. Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, and John Fitzallen earl of Arundel, who espoused princesses of the house of Marche.

After the death of Charles VI. which happened on the twenty-first day of October, the season would not allow the troops on either side to attempt any enterprize of importance, except the siege of St. Valery, which, after a faint resistance, submitted to the English.

Bussi in the county of Guise was likewise subdued by the count de Ligny, general of the Burgundians, while Jaque de Harcourt and La Hire reduced La Rue in Picardy, and Vitry in Champagne, to the dominion of Charles.

The duke of Bedford, agreeably to the plan which his brother Henry had formed, determined to make himself master of all the places on this side the Loire ; and while he was concerting the means of accomplishing this project, Graville, one of the officers of Charles, took Meulan by surprize on the fourth day of January.*

As

As this place lay in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the reduction of it under his eye was an insult offered to his arms, he resolved to open the campaign with the siege of it, which he accordingly formed in the beginning of February.

Charles ordered the count d'Aumale and general Stuart, who headed the Scottish auxiliaries, to march to its relief; but whether these officers could not agree about the chief command, or thought the attack impracticable, they wheeled off to another quarter, without having undertaken any thing in favour of Meulan, which Graville was obliged to surrender on capitulation.

After the recovery of this place, the regent set out for Amiens, where he had a conference with the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, which last, together with his brother the count de Richemont, engaged in a league and confederacy against Charles; and this alliance was strengthened by a marriage between Bedford and Anne, sister of the duke of Burgundy; while the count de Richemont espoused an elder sister of the same prince, who was widow of the dauphin Lewis.

The duke of Bedford consummated his marriage at Troye, and, in his way to Paris with his young spouse, reduced the town of Pont-sur-Seine. Mean while the earl of Salisbury,

lisbury, being appointed governor of Champagne and Brie, laid siege to the strong castle of Montaign; and leaving the earl of Suffolk to conduct the blockade of that fortress, he subdued in person the towns of Vertus, Sesanne, Epernay, and several other places.

While he was employed in these parts, Charles ordered Tannegui de Chatel to march to the relief of Montaign; but Salisbury, being informed of his design, joined the earl of Suffolk with such expedition, that the French general was obliged to desist from the attempt, and retire into Burgundy, whither he was quickly followed by the English forces. Salisbury, finding it impossible to overtake the French, laid siege to Crevant, a strong place, situated upon the Yonne, about three leagues from Auxerre.

Charles ordered Stuart to draw some troops from the neighbouring garrisons, and, in conjunction with Chatel, to attempt the relief of this town. All these forces, when formed into one body, amounted to about ten thousand men, of which the mareschal de Severac, by order of Charles, took the chief command; but, before the junction could be effected, Salisbury had reduced Crevant, and returned to the siege of Montaign.

Though

Though the French could not prevent the loss of Crevant, they resolved, if possible, to retake it immediately, and accordingly marched thither with all expedition.

The duchess dowager of Burgundy, who was then at Dijon, commanded the mareschal Toulon geou to raise the militia and gentlemen of that neighbourhood; and desired the earl of Salisbury to join them with his troops, and endeavour to relieve the place.

That nobleman complied with her request, and began his march for Auxerre, at the head of six thousand chosen men; there being joined by the Burgundians, he directed his route to Crevant; and the mareschal de Severac, being informed of their approach, took post upon a mountain, from whence he could not be easily dislodged.

Salisbury, however, found means to draw him from that advantageous situation, by making a feint as if he intended to attack him in the rear; and, after several marches and counter-marches, the two armies came to an engagement.

The French fled almost at the first onset, and left the Scots to bear the whole brunt of the battle, which they maintained for a considerable time with undaunted courage and resolution; but being overpowered by numbers, they were at last obliged to quit the

the field, with the loss of twelve hundred men, who were either killed or taken prisoners.

Stuart and Xaintrailles, with about forty officers of distinction, fell into the hands of the English, who, nevertheless, did not obtain a bloodless victory; for above four hundred of their best men were slain in the action, and among them Sir John Grey, Sir William Kalk, Sir Gilbert Hassel, and Richard ap Madock.

The earl of Salisbury returned with his victorious army to the siege of Montaign, the garrison of which being now reduced to twenty men, was obliged to surrender; and he ordered the fortifications to be entirely demolished.

Being no longer apprehensive of meeting with any considerable opposition from the French, he divided his army with the earl of Suffolk, who soon reduced the town of Macon, while Salisbury completed the conquest of Champagne; from whence he marched into the Isle of France, where he made himself master of Coucy, and some other castles.

Meantime the regent ordered Ralph de Boutilier to invest Crotoy in Picardy, situated on the Somme, opposite to St. Valery, and commanded by Jaques de Harcourt, who, after having made a brave defence, agreed

agreed to deliver up the place by the first of March, unless he should be relieved before that time ; and as Charles made no attempt in his favour, he accordingly surrendered to the duke of Bedford.

Though Charles's finances were almost exhausted, he payed the ransom of Xaintrailles, who no sooner obtained his liberty, than he found means to take Ham and Guise by surprize, while La Hire made himself master of Compeigne in the same manner ; but all these places were immediately recovered, by the troops of the regent and the duke of Burgundy.

Soon after, Charles received a reinforcement of one thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan ; and these troops invading the Bajolois, not only saved the town of Boussiere from falling into the hands of Toulongeou, but also attacked that general, who was taken prisoner with seven hundred men, whom he had brought to take possession of the fortress, according to capitulation ; but he was immediately exchanged for Stuart the Scottish general, who had been taken at Crevant.

It was not long before Charles gained another advantage, of far greater importance. John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, with a body of troops drawn

from

from several garrisons, had made an incursion into Anjou, where he reduced the suburbs of Angers to ashes, and obtained a considerable booty ; but, in his return to Normandy, he was met by the count d'Aumale, and the young duke of Alençon, who had collected a strong body of troops to cut off his retreat. They overtook him at Graville in J.e Maine, where, after a desperate engagement, he was defeated and taken prisoner, and fourteen hundred of his men were left dead on the field of battle.

This victory revived the spirits of Charles, which were greatly depressed by the disaster at Crevant ; and what inspired him with fresh hopes, was the arrival of five thousand men, whom the earl of Buchan, about this time, brought from Scotland, under the command of the earl of Douglas, one of the most accomplished generals of the age.

These succours arrived at Rochelle at a very seasonable juncture for Charles, who, pleased with this accession of strength, distinguished the Scottish officers by very particular marks of favour.

Douglas was created duke of Touraine ; Stuart was made baron d'Aubigny, and afterwards count d'Evreux ; and Charles, to give the Scots a further proof of his confidence and esteem, chose a company of them for the guard of his own person.

To

To complete the good fortune of Charles, the count de Richemont, being offended at the conduct of the regent, who had refused to honour him with the command of the army, resolved to draw off his brother, the duke of Britany, from the English interest; and, by the interposition of the duke of Savoy, a truce was concluded between Charles and the duke of Burgundy, for the Leonnois and Burgundy, which, as well as all the other provinces in that quarter, were greatly distressed by the interruption of commerce.

While France was thus exposed to all the miseries and calamities of a civil war, England enjoyed a state of the most perfect tranquillity.

The parliament being assembled on the twentieth day of October, a new council was appointed for the government of the realm, by the arts and intrigues of the bishop of Winchester, who, having had some dispute with the duke of Gloucester, raised an opposition in parliament, with a view to restrain the power of the protector, by extending that of the council, which was accordingly enlarged.

This affair being settled, the ministry acquainted both houses with the steps they had taken concerning the ransom of the

Scottish king ; and the parliament was pleased to approve of their proceedings.

A law was made against the exportation of gold and silver out of the kingdom, except what was absolutely necessary for the payment of the king's forces in France ; and a subsidy was granted for the support of the war in that country.

The duke of Gloucester, and the council, finding that the Scottish nation had entirely altered their sentiments since the death of their late regent the duke of Albany ; and that they discovered such a strong attachment to the French monarch, as seemed to proceed from a spirit of resentment at the captivity of their own king, resolved, in good earnest, to restore James to his liberty on such terms as should fix him firmly in the interest of England.

The Scots were extremely desirous of seeing him restored to his throne, and invested with the government of the kingdom, as the regent Murdoc, the present duke of Albany, was a weak prince, possessed of neither resolution nor authority for such an important task : several proposals had been made for that purpose ; but they had hitherto proved abortive, because the English imagined, that, by keeping him in their power, they should intimidate his

his subjects from taking any step to the prejudice of England.

By this time, however, they were convinced of their error, and saw no method so likely to dissolve the alliance between France and Scotland, as that of releasing king James in terms of friendship with England.

Safe-conducts were given to the Scottish commissioners to repair to London, to treat about their king's deliverance; and the bishops of Durham and Worcester, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Nevil, Cornwal, and Chaworth, were appointed as deputies to adjust the articles.

They were empowered to agree to the enlargement of James, on condition, that he should pay forty thousand marks for the expence of his maintenance during his residence in England; and that he should consent to a truce with Henry, during which, the two kings should give no assistance to the enemies of each other.

They were likewise ordered to acquaint the Scottish commissioners, that this peace might be happily strengthened by a marriage between their sovereign and some English lady of the blood-royal.

The first conference was held at York, where the plenipotentiaries agreed upon

the terms of the king's release; and in the second at London, they settled the manner in which the money should be paid, together with the quality of the hostages to be given by way of security.

There too it was determined that the king of Scotland should marry Jane of Somerset, sister to the duke of that name, and neice to the duke of Exeter and bishop of Winchester; and that the English council should abate ten thousand marks of the ransom by way of equivalent for the lady's portion.

Then the commissioners of both nations signed a truce for seven years, by which James engaged to recal his troops from France before the month of May following; though he could not promise that they would obey his orders.

This treaty was confirmed by the parliament, which was adjourned to the month of January, and James, after a captivity of seventeen years, returned to his own kingdom.

The war in France was still continued with various success; and the regent exerted his utmost efforts in order to expel the troops of Charles from all the northern provinces: but in this attempt he met with greater difficulties than he at first imagined; for he had no sooner subdued a place

place by force, than the enemy retook it by surprize ; so that his task appeared to be equally laborious and ineffectual.*

While he was engaged in these operations, he received advice that Giraut, one of the officers of Charles, had reduced Ivry, on the frontiers of Normandy ; and as this was a place of great importance, he instantly repaired thither in order to recover it, before the enemy should have time to put it in a posture of defence.

The siege was undertaken in the beginning of July ; and Giraut, unable to hold out for any length of time, agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the fifteenth day of August.

Charles, apprized of this agreement, determined to succour the place, though at the risk of a battle ; and immediately collected an army in Le Maine, amounting to twenty thousand men, and composed of Scots, French, and Italians.

The command belonged to the earl of Buchan as constable of France ; but he resigned that honour to his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas, whom Charles appointed his lieutenant-general for the whole kingdom.

All the nobility, who adhered to Charles, repaired to his standard on this occasion, and on the twelfth day of August they marched by the walls of Vernueil, which was then possessed by the English.

Next day they came in sight of the regent's army, which lay encamped before Ivry, and was so strongly fortified with deep trenches, that Douglas thought it imprudent to attack them in that situation: he therefore returned to Vernueil, the garrison of which surrendered at the first summons, because they imagined the English army was defeated, and the siege of Ivry raised, according to the report of the messenger.

The earl of Salisbury being informed of the enemy's march, joined the regent with a body of a thousand men at arms, and two thousand archers, which increased the number of the English to thirteen thousand veterans, who were more than a match for the like number of any troops in Europe.

Ivry was delivered up at the time appointed, according to the capitulation; and the next day the duke of Bedford advanced towards Vernueil, in order to force the enemy to an engagement. When he arrived within a league of their camp he sent a herald with a defiance, and a particular message to Douglas, importing that he was

come

come to dine with him ; to this the other replied, that he should be welcome, and find the cloth ready laid.

The regent, instead of advancing to the charge, pitched upon an advantageous spot for the field of battle, flanked by a hill, on which he posted two thousand archers ; and he furnished his soldiers with sharp stakes, like those that were used at Agincourt, to oppose the onset of the French cavalry, among which he knew there was a great number of young noblemen, who would not fail to attack him on the ground he had chosen for his own advantage ; nor was he mistaken in his conjecture, for the French were as remarkable at that period, as they are at present, for their head-strong impetuosity in the attack, and their unaccountable propensity to fly.

Douglas having surveyed the situation of the English camp, convoked a council of war, and represented the great danger of beginning the charge, as the duke of Bedford had chosen his own ground, where he could not be attacked without manifest disadvantage : he therefore insisted that it was their interest to stand on the defensive, and not hazard a battle in which there was so little probability of succeeding, and which, if lost, must prove so detrimental to the affairs of his majesty.

This

This wholesome advice, which was seconded by the constable and all the officers of experience, was warmly opposed by Aymer viscount of Narbonne, who treated it as the effect of fear and cowardice, and represented it as utterly inconsistent with the glory of France, and the honour of his majesty's arms, which would be stained with an indelible mark of disgrace, should they decline an engagement, when they were so much superior to the enemy in number.

He was joined by all the young nobility, and the council was filled with tumult and confusion: at length, this headstrong and imprudent nobleman exclaimed, "Let all who love their sovereign, follow me;" and, rushing from the council, accompanied by those who favoured his opinion, he drew up his men in order of battle, and commanded them to advance to the charge.

Douglas and the constable finding their advice rejected, and their authority despised, resolved to exert their utmost efforts, in order to support these youthful adventurers; or, if that should be impossible, to wash out with their own blood the blemish which had been so unjustly cast upon their honour.

With this view, they endeavoured to marshal their troops; but the viscount of Narbonne,

bonne, and his associates, had already proceeded a considerable way, and the rest of the army ran after them in such a tumultuous manner, that it was impossible to reduce them into any kind of order or regularity, while the two chiefs were hurried along with the multitude.

Before they came in sight of the English camp, their breath and spirits were almost exhausted ; and here the generals made another attempt to form them into some kind of order, by advising them to stop, and recruit their spirits, before they should begin the battle ; but they still refused to follow their advice ; and the French and Scots seemed to vie with each other, in rushing forward to their own destruction.

The Italians, being overwhelmed with a shower of arrows from the English archers that were posted upon the hill, betook themselves to flight in the very beginning of the battle ; but the French and the Scots charged with such irresistible fury, that they entirely discomfited one of the wings of the English.

They even penetrated as far as a barricade formed in the rear with the waggons of the army, behind which was placed a body of archers, that received them with a terrible discharge.

When

When they turned about, in order to charge these bowmen on the flanks, they found them secured by their stakes, in such a manner that they could not possibly make any impression ; while they themselves were so overwhelmed by thick and repeated showers of arrows, that most of them were left dead upon the spot.

Meantime the main bodies of both armies maintained the fight with such equal courage and obstinacy, that, for three hours, it was impossible to determine to which side the victory inclined : at length the English body of reserve, which had routed the Italian men at arms, fell upon the flank of the Scots, and decided the fate of the battle.

Douglas and the constable, seeing their defeat inevitable, scorned to survive the disgrace, and, rushing into the thickest of the fight, fell in the midst of their enemies. The same was the fate of the headstrong Narbonne, Ventadour, Graville, and Rambouillet.

The other general officers were so dangerously wounded, that they could no longer command ; so that the men, being destitute of their leaders, fought at random, until they were entirely defeated, with a most terrible slaughter.

The

The Italians, who had left the field in the beginning of the action, hearing that the French had gained the victory, returned for their share of the booty; but they met with such a warm reception from the English, that not a man of them would have escaped alive, had not they been favoured by the approaching night.

Five thousand Scots and French were slain in this battle, and a great number was wounded and taken: among the last, were the mareschals Fayette and Gaucour; and the young duke of Alençon, who had behaved with great bravery, being found still breathing, was cherished with such care by the regent, that he recovered of his wounds, which were extremely dangerous.

Nor did the English obtain a bloodless victory: they lost about seventeen hundred of their best men, who were left dead upon the spot; and, among them, some officers of distinction.

Next day the regent laid siege to Vernueil, which, after a faint resistance, surrendered on capitulation. In this place the English found all the baggage belonging to the French, Scottish and Italian generals, together with the money designed for the pay of the soldiers; and meeting the corpse of the viscount of Narbonne, on the way to interment, they seized and hung it on a gibbet, because that nobleman had a principal share

share in the murder of the duke of Burgundy.

The affairs of Charles were now in a most desperate situation. The flower of his troops and the bravest of his nobles had perished in the late battle: he had neither money to recruit his army, or to maintain the few forces that still remained: far from being able to support the pomp and magnificence of a court, he could not even provide a table furnished with the plainest necessaries.

Every day brought him an account of some fresh loss or misfortune: his towns surrendered for want of succours and provision: he saw his friends expelled from all the provinces to the north of the Loire: he trembled with the apprehension of being soon stripped of all the territories, which had hitherto been subject to his sway: in a word, every thing seemed to forebode his approaching ruin, when an accident happened, which saved him from the impending danger, and deprived the English of such an opportunity for finishing their conquests, as they never afterwards were able to recover.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heiress of these provinces, had married John duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy; but as she had

had been more influenced in this choice by the motives of interest and convenience than those of love and affection, she soon began to repent of the unequal match.

She was a princess of great spirit and extraordinary abilities; the duke of Brabant was of a weak constitution and narrow capacity; she was in the vigour of her age; he had hardly attained his fifteenth year: and, moved by these considerations, she resolved to break off her marriage with a man whom she could neither love or esteem, and with whom, it is probable, nothing but the ceremony of wedlock had as yet intervened.

The Roman pontiffs were never backward to grant dispensations for this purpose, when properly secured by a round sum of money; but as the princess was sensible that great opposition would be made by the friends of her husband, and was extremely desirous of obtaining her end, she made an elopement into England, and committed herself to the protection of the duke of Gloucester.

That prince, though possessed of many excellent qualities, was naturally of a violent and passionate disposition; and charmed by the personal beauty of the countess, and tempted by the prospect of enjoying her rich inheritance, he was so imprudent as to offer himself to her as a husband.

Without waiting for a papal dispensation ; without attempting to gain the consent of the duke of Burgundy, he engaged in a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately endeavoured to take possession of her paternal dominions.

Philip was offended at this unjustifiable measure : he resented the affront offered to the duke of Brabant his near relation : he was unwilling to have the English settled on all sides of him ; and he perceived the fatal consequences that must necessarily attend the unlimited dominion of that nation, which, even in its present state, scrupled not to insult an ally, from whom they had already received such considerable assistance, and whose further aid was necessary for the accomplishment of their designs.

He, therefore, persuaded the duke of Brabant to make resistance : he prevailed upon many of Jaqueline's subjects to espouse the cause of that prince : he even sent a body of troops to his succour ; and as the duke of Gloucester still persisted in his resolution, a bloody and obstinate war was suddenly kindled in the Low-Countries.

Nor was it long before the quarrel became personal as well as political. Gloucester wrote to the duke of Burgundy, remonstrating against the opposition that was made

made to his pretensions; and though his letter, in the main, was couched in very polite terms, he yet took notice of some falsehoods, into which Philip had been unwittingly led in the course of these transactions. This unguarded expression gave great offence; the duke of Burgundy insisted, that he should make a formal retraction: and mutual challenges and defiance passed between them on this occasion.

The duke of Bedford, at once perceived the fatal effects of such an unhappy quarrel.

All the troops that came from England, and were so necessary for the reduction of France, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault: the forces of the duke of Burgundy, upon which he likewise placed great dependence, were diverted by the same wars; and besides this double loss, he found himself in the most imminent danger of being deprived of that ally, from whose friendship he had hitherto derived so much advantage, and whose good graces the late king had commanded him, with his dying breath, to cultivate with the utmost care and assiduity.

He represented all these particulars to the duke of Gloucester: he attempted to soften the resentment of the duke of Burgundy:

he exerted his utmost efforts, in order to reconcile these princes : but all his good offices proved ineffectual ; and he plainly saw, that the violence of his brother's temper, was the principal thing that prevented an accommodation.

Instead, therefore, of improving of the victory he had obtained at Vervueil, he found himself under a necessity of returning to England, in order, if possible, to persuade the duke of Gloucester to compromise this fatal and unhappy dispute.

The regent's presence was likewise necessary for composing some differences which had lately arisen among the English ministry. The bishop of Winchester was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of a factious and turbulent disposition ; and, as he wanted to raise himself to the head of the government, he had continual quarrels with his nephew the protector, whose warm and vehement temper laid him open to the artifice and cunning of the other.

The duke of Bedford endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between these two noblemen ; but, finding his own influence insufficient for that purpose, he persuaded them to submit their dispute to the decision of parliament, and, after the matter had been fully discussed, they were both obliged to promise, in presence of that respectable body,

body, to bury all their quarrels in utter oblivion.*

Soon after some incidents happened, which seemed to facilitate an accomodation with the duke of Burgundy.

That prince had procured a bull from the pope, which not only annulled the contract of Jaqueline with the duke of Gloucester, but likewise declared, that, even in case of the duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to marry an English nobleman. Gloucester, thus disappointed in his hopes, espoused another lady of inferior rank, who had lived with him for some time in the character of his concubine.

The duke of Brabant died in a few years ; nor could Jaqueline recover the possession of her dominions, until she had appointed the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without children, and had promised never to marry without his consent.

But though the affair was concluded so much to the advantage of Philip, it had yet made a disagreeable impression upon his mind, and inspired him with such an extreme jealousy of the English as proved the means of entirely dissolving his alliance with that people.

Q. 3

About

* A. D. 1425.

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About the same period, the duke of Brittany began to detach himself from his connection with England. His brother, the count of Richemont, though nearly allied by marriage to the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was strongly prejudiced in favour of the French monarch; and he, therefore, lent a willing ear to every proposal that was made by Charles for procuring his friendship.

The office of constable, lately become vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan, was offered to him; and as his ambitious temper led him to aspire to the command of armies, which he had never been able to obtain from the duke of Bedford, he not only accepted the post, but even engaged his brother in an alliance with Charles.

Such was the situation of affairs when the regent arrived in France, after having been eight months absent.* The duke of Burgundy was highly offended. The duke of Brittany had contracted a private alliance with Charles, to whom he had even swore fealty for his dutchy. The French had, in some measure, recovered from the late consternation into which they had been thrown by their many losses and misfortunes; and their

* A. D. 1426.

their spirits were still farther revived by an incident which happened at this juncture.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the English forces in the regent's absence, had invested Montargis with a small army of three thousand men ; and the place was reduced to the last extremity, when the Bastard of Orleans resolved to march to its relief.

This general, who was natural son to the late duke of Orleans, and who afterwards became so famous under the title of the count de Dunois, ventured to approach the English camp with a body of no more than sixteen hundred men ; and with these he made such a furious attack upon the enemy, that he not only forced his way into the place, but even gave such a severe blow to the English, as obliged the earl of Warwick to abandon the siege. This was the first action which discovered the military genius of Dunois, and laid the foundation of that high character which he afterwards attained.

But the regent, soon after his arrival, restored the honour of the English arms by an important enterprize, which he wisely planned, and happily accomplished.

Having privately assembled a numerous army on the frontiers of Brittany, he fell so unexpectedly into that province, that the

the duke, unable to oppose his progress, was glad to comply with all the terms which the other thought proper to prescribe.*

He renounced his alliance with Charles; he promised to adhere to the treaty of Troye; he owned the duke of Bedford for regent of France; he engaged to swear fealty to king Henry for his territories; and the regent having thus delivered himself from a dangerous enemy, who lay behind him, determined to attempt an undertaking, which, if crowned with success, would give a fatal blow to the affairs of Charles, and pave the way for the final reduction of France.

The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces that were subject to Henry, and those which owned the sway of Charles, that it opened an easy passage into either; and as the regent was resolved to push the war into the southern countries, he found it necessary to make himself master of this place, which, on account of its situation, was become the most important of any in the kingdom.

He committed the conduct of the siege to the earl of Salisbury, who had lately arrived from England with a body of six thousand men, and was justly esteemed one

of the best officers of the age. Salisbury, crossing the Loire, reduced a number of small fortresses which lay on that side of Orleans; and the French king, who easily guessed his intention, exerted his utmost endeavours in order to furnish the city with such a garrison as might enable it to make a vigorous defence.

The count de Gaucour, a nobleman of great courage and conduct, was appointed governor: many officers of distinction threw themselves into the place; the troops which they brought with them, were accustomed to war, and familiar with danger; and even the citizens, who had acquired a military turn by the long continuance of hostilities, were extremely well qualified to assist the regular forces in their own defence. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this important object, as it was commonly imagined that the French would exert their utmost efforts in supporting the rights of their king, and the independency of their kingdom.*

The earl of Salisbury, having made himself master of all the castles in the neighbourhood, at last sat down before Orleans, with a body of ten thousand men; but, as even this army was not sufficient to surround

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* A. D. 1428.

so large a city, which commanded a bridge over the Loire, he opened his trenches on the south side, towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beause, entirely open to the enemy.

He first attacked the fortifications which defended the entry to the bridge; and, after a brave resistance, he carried several of them: but he himself was killed by a cannon-ball, while he stood at a window observing the posture of the enemy.

His death, however, did not in the least interrupt the siege, which was carried on with the same vigour under the direction of the earl of Suffolk, assisted by the famous Talbot, one of the most accomplished generals which that age produced.

Four months had already been spent in continual sallies and attacks, when the regent ordered a convoy of salt-fish to be sent from Paris, for the use of the besiegers in Lent, escorted by a detachment of two thousand five hundred men, under the command of Sir John Fastolfe, an officer of great valour and experience.*

Charles, being apprised of the day on which he proposed to set out, ordered the count de Clermont to attack him with four thousand men on the road to Orleans; and that

that nobleman executed his orders on the twelfth day of February, at Rouvrai St. Denis.

Fastolfe, being informed of their approach, posted his men behind a barricade of waggons, where they withstood the first attack of the enemy, who charged them with their usual impetuosity; but, far from being able to break through the entrenchment, they met with such a warm reception that they were thrown into confusion; and the English commander, observing their disorder, caused openings to be made in the barricade, through which his men attacked the enemy before they could recover their ranks, and defeated them with great slaughter.

In this action, which was called the battle of Herrings, one hundred and twenty noblemen and officers of distinction lost their lives, besides a great number of common men; but the bastard of Orleans, who had joined Clermont on this occasion, retreated to the town, with four hundred men, in good order.

Charles was so discouraged by this disaster, that he began to give over all hopes of ever being able to retrieve his ruined fortunes; but, that he might neglect no expedient which might contribute to the preservation of Orleans, he sent Xaintrailles to

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the regent at Paris, to propose that the city might be sequestered in the hands of the duke of Burgundy, until the war should be finished.

This proposal being rejected by the duke of Bedford, the king had actually resolved to lay aside all thoughts of further opposition, and retire into Dauphiné, when his affairs were restored by a very surprising revolution.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of twenty-seven years of age, named Joan of Arc, who was servant in a small inn, and who, in that capacity, had been wont to take care of the horses, to ride them without saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices, which, in larger inns, are commonly executed by the men servants.

The girl was of an unblemished character, and had not hitherto been distinguished for any particularity of behaviour; whether that she had met with no opportunity to display her genius, or that the unskilful eyes of those who conversed with her, had not been able to discover her extraordinary abilities.

It is natural to think, that the present situation of France would engage the attention even of the meanest persons, and would become

become a common topic of conversation. A young prince, expelled his native throne, by the rebellion of his own subjects and by the arms of strangers, could not fail to excite the compassion of all his people, whose hearts were unbiassed by faction; and the peculiar character of Charles, who was young, handsome, agreeable, and amorous, strongly recommended him to the love and affection of the female sex.

The siege of Orleans, the success of the English arms before that place, the extremity to which the garrison and inhabitants were reduced, and the great importance of preserving the city and its brave defenders, had attracted the attention of all the world; and Joan, inspired by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing assistance to her sovereign in his present distress.

Her young and tender mind, brooding night and day over this favourite object, mistook the warmth of her own passions, for the impulses of heavenly inspirations; and she imagined, that she saw visions and heard voices, exhorting her to restore the independence of the French monarchy, and clear the kingdom of foreign invaders.

Naturally bold and intrepid, she never considered the many dangers and difficulties she might have to encounter in the accom-

plishment of this project ; and, believing herself to be destined by heaven to this important office, she threw aside that bashfulness and timidity, which is so natural to her sex, her years, and her low station.

She repaired to Vaucouleurs, and addressed herself to Baudricourt, the governor of that place ; she acquainted him with her inspirations and intentions ; and besought him not to despise the voice of God, who spoke through her, but to second those heavenly revelations, which prompted her to attempt this glorious undertaking.

The goverour considered this declaration as the effect of a distempered brain ; but being desirous to know of what materials the female adventurer was composed, he turned her over to some young gentlemen, who put her virtue to a very severe proof. But Joan baffled all their attempts, and like fire from the furnace, came forth from this trial more pure and unsullied than ever.

Baudricourt, informed of this circumstance, began to alter his mind, and after several conferences with the maid, he thought he could perceive something extraordinary in her manner, and resolved to send her to court : accordingly he assigned her a certain number of attendants who conducted her to Charles, who then resided at Chinon.

If



JOAN, or the Maid of Orleans.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

If Joan's character had appeared surprizing and unaccountable to Baudricourt, to Charles and his courtiers it seemed to be altogether supernatural and divine. It is alledged, that she was no sooner admitted into the royal presence than she knew the king, though she had never seen him before, and though he had laid aside every thing in his dress and apparel, that could render him remarkable: that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed; and on his expressing some doubts of the truth of her mission, explained to him, before some sworn witnesses, a secret, which was unknown to all the world but herself, and which she could not possibly have found out but by divine revelation: and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which lay in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by such a number of circumstances as plainly proved her supernatural knowledge.

Certain it is, that all these miraculous stories were industriously propagated in order to impose upon the vulgar; but as Joan had been two months at Vaucouleurs, it is natural

natural to think the whole was a plot concerted between her and the court.

Charles was too sagacious not to perceive the great use that might be made of such an uncommon engine in order to retrieve his ruined affairs, and he therefore resolved to try the experiment. But as it was of the last importance to conceal the cheat from the public, the more he was inclined to promote the illusion, the more scruples he pretended.

An assembly of grave doctors and Theologians were ordered to examine the mission of Joan with the utmost accuracy ; and they pronounced it divine and supernatural. She was sent to the parliament, which was then held at Poitiers ; and she was carefully interrogated before that assembly : the president and counsellors, who were formerly persuaded of her imposture, were now as fully convinced of her inspiration.

After these necessary precautions had been taken, and the minds of the vulgar were wrought up to a conviction of the truth of Joan's mission, her requests were at last granted ; she was armed cap-a-pi , mounted on a fine steed, and in that military garb was shewn to the whole people. Her skill in managing her horse, though acquired in her former employment, was considered as a fresh proof of her heavenly mission ;

mission ; and she was received with shouts of joy and acclamation by all the spectators.

Her former occupation was even denied : she was no longer the servant of an inn ; she was now metamorphosed into a shepherdess, an employment much more agreeable to the imagination.

To render her still more the object of public admiration, near ten years were substracted from her age ; and thus all the sentiments of love and gallantry were happily added to those of enthusiasm, in order to prepossess the people in her favour.

When the extraordinary engine was thus prepared, it was resolved to try its force upon the enemy. Joan was sent to Blois, where a large convoy of provisions was got ready for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men was assembled under the conduct of the mareschal de Severac in order to escort it.

She commanded the soldiers to make confession before they began their march : she cleared the camp of all women of bad fame : she held in her hands a consecrated standard, which represented the Supreme Being, grasping the globe of the earth, and encompassed with fleurs-de-lis : and she insisted, by virtue of her prophetic spirit, that the convoy should enter Orleans on the side

of Beauvois ; but the count de Dunois, who thought it more prudent to adhere to the rules of the military art, than to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other side of the river, where he knew the weakest part of the English army was posted.

Before her departure from Blois, she wrote a letter to the regent and the English generals, commanding them in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to abandon the siege and to quit France ; and threatening them, in case of refusal, with the severest marks of the Divine displeasure.

The English received these menaces with the contempt, which, in their opinion, they deserved ; and said, that the French king was now indeed reduced to a sorry pass, when he was obliged to have recourse to a fool and a lunatic for his safety. But they soon found that this fool would be of more service to the re-establishment of his affairs than they at first imagined.

When the convoy approached Orleans, the garrison made a sally in order to favour its entrance ; and after a long and desperate engagement, the English were worsted, and Joan entered the city, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, who were now fully convinced of her heavenly mission.

That

That this spirit might not be suffered to cool, she on the fourth day of May, assaulted the fort of St. Loup, which was one of those which the English built for the blockade of the place; and, after an obstinate dispute of four hours, took it sword in hand, against a garrison of twelve hundred men, four hundred of whom were left dead upon the spot.

In two days after, she attacked the fort of St. John, where she met with little or no opposition, the English having almost abandoned it before her approach. She then proceeded against the fort of London, which was the strongest of the whole number, and took it by assault, after a very desperate engagement.

Encouraged by this success, she led her troops directly against the fort of Tournelles; but, as the night was now approaching, she was obliged to delay the attack till next morning, when she began the assault, which lasted fourteen hours without intermission. The French were repulsed four several times, and as often returned to the charge, under the conduct of Joan of Arc, who, though she was wounded in the neck with an arrow, continued to fight with surprizing intrepidity: at length the fort was taken, and six hundred of the garrison put to the sword.

Such

Such a series of misfortunes filled the English with terror and consternation. They could not believe the divinity of Joan's mission, they were persuaded that she was assisted by some supernatural power, and therefore imagined that she was an instrument of the devil.

The common soldiers were struck with an unaccountable panic, and trembled at the very apprehension of being led against this terrible enchantress; and the earl of Suffolk, finding it impossible to carry on the operations of the siege, abandoned the enterprize, after having lain before the place for upwards of seven months.

Even the general officers seemed to be stupified with terror; for, instead of keeping their forces together in a body, until they should have recovered from their amazement, they distributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had subdued before they laid siege to Orleans, and retired with the rest to a great distance: so that the enemy had an opportunity to reduce the towns and castles which they had thus garrisoned.

The earl of Suffolk seems to have been infected with the general panic; for he had been so imprudent as to throw himself, with four hundred men only, into Gergeau, where he was obliged to surrender at discretion;

cretion; and all the other places, but Baugency, were again subjected to the dominion of Charles, who now determined to go and be crowned at Rheims, though that city was still in the possession of the English.

This enterprize, however, he would not attempt, until he should have reduced Baugency, which he immediately besieged; and while he was engaged in this undertaking, he was joined by the constable de Richemont, who, being informed of his success, laid aside his resentment, and assembled a body of twelve hundred horse, and as many thousand infantry, in Bretagne, for his service.

The place being taken, Charles, by the advice of his council, advanced into Beauce, against the remainder of the English army, consisting of about six thousand men, encamped near Patay, under the conduct of Talbot, who had succeeded to the command after the captivity of Suffolk. The French attacked them with such impetuosity, that the greater part of them fled with the utmost precipitation; and Sir John Fastolfe was hurried away in the midst of the fugitives.

The lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, maintained the fight with great bravery, until, being overpowered by numbers, and two thousand of their men cut in pieces,

pieces, they were obliged to yield to the fortune of the day, and were taken prisoners, together with Sir Thomas Rempston, and other officers of distinction.

Soon after, Charles made himself master of Jenville, a strong place in the neighbourhood of Patay; and all the castles, that held for Henry about Orleans, were abandoned by the English, who retired to Paris.

This series of success on the part of the French, and of misfortunes on the part of the English, had so much altered the state of affairs, that the duke of Bedford was obliged to confine himself within the walls of Paris; while Charles was every day gaining some fresh accession of strength.

His brother-in-law, Lewis III. duke of Anjou and king of Sicily, joined him with a strong body of troops, and some excellent officers, whom he had brought back from Italy, where he had been making a campaign; so that when he mustered his army at Gien, it amounted to fifteen thousand fighting men, five of which he sent off in two detachments; one under the constable, to attempt the reduction of Normandy; and the other to make an incursion into Guienne, under the command of the count de Perriac.

Charles

Charles himself, at the head of the remaining ten thousand, directed his march towards Rheims ; and, in his way, made himself master of all the places of any importance. Troye and Chalons surrendered at the first summons, while the inhabitants of Auxerre engaged to follow the example of the principal towns of Champagne.

The citizens of Rheims were no sooner informed of the king's approach, than they expelled the English garrison, and sent deputies with their keys to his majesty, who entered the place in triumph, and was consecrated with great solemnity. When the ceremony was finished, the Maid of Orleans desired leave to retire, affirming that she had now accomplished the design of her mission ; but the king was unwilling to part with his benefactress ; and she was at last persuaded to remain with his majesty.

During these transactions in France, the court of England was embroiled by a revival of the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester, who had lately obtained a cardinal's hat.

The behaviour of this prelate, naturally proud and insolent, was become altogether intolerable, since the acquisition of his new dignity ; and the duke of Gloucester, in order to humble his pride, would not permit him to officiate at the festival of St. George, patron

patron of the order of the garter, though prelate of the order, in quality of bishop of Winchester.

The duke alledged, that he could not perform the functions of cardinal and bishop, without an express licence from his majesty; and, as the council were of the same opinion, two noblemen were ordered to acquaint him, that he could not act as bishop of Winchester.

Next day he appeared in council, and demanded the reason why he was deprived of his right; but the council told him, that such an extensive power, in the hands of a subject, would prove prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown; and they were therefore determined to persist in their resolution.

This disappointment was extremely disagreeable to the cardinal, as it shewed the weakness of his own interest, and the greatness of that of his enemy; but he was soon consoled for the disgrace, by a bull from the pope, appointing him his legate in Germany, and general of a crusade against the Bohemian heretics, who were known by the name of Hussites.

He had no sooner obtained this commission, than he applied to the council for leave to raise a body of five hundred lances, and as many thousand archers, for that expedition;

pedition ; and his demand being granted under certain limitations, he began his levies with equal diligence and success.

Mean while, the news of the battle of Patay arriving in England, the council issued immediate orders for raising a new army under the command of Sir John Radcliff ; but the people were so fully convinced that the Maid of Orleans was in compact with the devil, that they absolutely refused to go and fight against that infernal being, whose power they believed to be an overmatch for any human force.

The council was therefore obliged to make a new agreement with the cardinal, who engaged to serve with his troops in France, under the duke of Bedford, till the end of December, provided they should not be employed in any siege.

In a few days after this agreement, garter king at arms arrived with letters from the regent, entreating the council to send over a re-inforcement with all possible expedition, and desiring, in the name of the Parisians, that the king might come over to France and be consecrated in the capital.

The council were fully satisfied of the propriety of this measure, as Henry was now in the eighth year of his age ; but,

at the same time, they resolved that he should first be crowned king of England.

This ceremony was accordingly performed on the sixth day of November; and then the parliament which was convoked on the occasion, ordained that the dignity of protector should be abolished, as inconsistent with the majesty of a crowned head, and that the duke of Gloucester should be distinguished by the name of the king's first counsellor.

While the English council were making preparations for the king's voyage, the duke of Bedford repaired to Picardy, where he intended to wait for the succours from England; and Charles, in the mean time, made himself master of Soissons, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Cressi, and several other places.

The regent, being at length joined by the troops belonging to the cardinal, directed his march towards Cressi, in hopes of bringing the enemy to an engagement; and, in a few days, the two armies came in sight of each other in a large plain, where Bedford, who had few horse, pitched upon an advantageous ground, hoping that the French, with their usual impetuosity, would attack him at all adventures.

But for once he was deceived in his expectation. Charles, grown wise by his past misfortunes, forbore to attack him in his intrench-

intrenchments; but after having in vain endeavoured to draw the English from their advantageous posture, he decamped, in order to prosecute his conquests; and the regent, who followed him with an intention of giving him battle, if a favourable opportunity should offer, had the mortification to see him received into Senlis, Beauvais, Compeigne, and seven other places of importance, from which the duke had been obliged to withdraw the garrisons.

To add still farther to his uneasiness, the constable de Richemont, who had invaded Normandy, had made himself master of Evreux, and was in a fair way of reducing the whole province.

The duke, dreading the loss of a country which supplied him with the greatest part of his provisions, hastened thither by long marches, and expelled him out of that dutchy, but, in his absence, Charles made an attempt upon the city of Paris.

Having posted his army on Montmartre, he published a manifesto, in which he pardoned all the offences and misdemeanours of the Parisians, who, intimidated by his conquests, or influenced by his clemency, would, he imagined, have driven the English forces from the city, and received him with open arms; but the regent had taken

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such

such wise precautions, that his declaration produced no effect.

Finding that he had nothing to expect from the loyalty of the citizens, he attacked the suburbs of St. Honorè ; but his troops were repulsed with great slaughter, and the Maid of Orleans being wounded, was thrown into the ditch, where she lay for some time supposed to be dead, until she was drawn out in the night, and found to be alive.

Charles, disappointed in this attempt, retired to Bourges, where he passed the winter ; and the regent returned to Paris, from which, in the beginning of the year,* he sent out detachments, which took St. Denys and Lagni by storm.

This revolution of affairs in France gave occasion to great murmurs and complaints in England. Some accused the generals of negligence and remissness in the execution of their duty : others, alledged, this change was entirely owing to the machination of the devil, who employed Joan of Arc as the instrument of his malice : a third set ascribed the bad success of the English to the misconduct of the king's council ; and particularly to the ambition of the duke of Gloucester, who had commenced a war in

Hainault

Hainault for his own private interest, at a time when, if the whole strength of England had been united, the entire conquest of France might have been easily accomplished: and there were not wanting a fourth species of politicians, who asserted that the council had been guilty of the greatest folly and imprudence in detaining so long the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon prisoners in England.

They represented the great advantages which the late king had derived from the dissensions of the French princes, that therefore the prisoners ought to have been sent back to their own country, where, in all probability, they would have renewed their old quarrels; whereas by keeping them in England, the French enjoyed a kind of tranquillity which enabled them to act with greater vigour and success against the common enemy; that, if the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon had been set at liberty, the duke of Burgundy would have supplied the English with a greater number of troops than he had hitherto furnished; and that, in any event, their ransom would help to replenish his majesty's coffers, which were now almost exhausted.

The council were so much influenced by these arguments, that they would willingly have consented to the release of the two

princes; had it not been for the express command of the king, who had strictly forbid them to take such a step until his son should be of age to assume the reins of government: at length, however, they resolved to dispense with that restriction in favour of the duke of Bourbon, who, by a private agreement with Henry V. had promised to swear to the peace of Troye, to pay a large sum by way of ransom, and to deliver two of his sons and fortresses, as a security for the performance of articles.

Though this treaty could not be executed before the death of his late majesty, it had been renewed with some alteration; and the duke had done homage to young Henry, in quality of king of France. The treaty was at last ratified; but some obstacles prevented the duke's enlargement; and after a captivity of eighteen years, he died a prisoner in England.

The council was the more inclined to this accommodation, as it would have furnished a fund of money for supporting the charges of the king's voyage to France; but as the treaty proved abortive, they had recourse to other expedients which effectually answered the purpose.

All persons possessed of lands to the value of forty pounds a year were summoned to receive the honour of knighthood; the jewels

jewels of the crown were pawned, and large sums were borrowed from the towns, corporations, and individuals ; and the cardinal, who accompanied the king, supplied him with about ten thousand pounds on the occasion.

The king's finances being thus recruited, he set out on his voyage, attended by a considerable body of forces ; but the English in general were so deeply impressed with the notion of Joan's magic, and sorcery, and diabolical power, that many officers and soldiers deserted before their embarkation ; and several of these who crossed the sea, being terrified with the accounts they heard of her surprizing achievements, withdrew privately from their colours, and returned to England.

Henry arrived about the latter end of April at Calais, from whence he went to Rouen, where he spent the summer, until the necessary preparations could be made for the ceremony of his coronation at Paris, which was accordingly performed on the seventeenth day of December with as much pomp and solemnity as the situation of affairs would permit.

While the king was at Rouen, the regent, apprehending that the duke of Burgundy began to lend a favourable ear to the proposals that were made him by Charles,

Charles, endeavoured to attach him more firmly to his interest, at the expence of all the places which the English held in Champagne and Brie, and which he now yielded to that prince, in order to confirm him more strongly in his English alliance. What likewise contributed to make him adhere to the same engagements, was his third marriage with Isabel of Portugal, who was nearly allied to Henry.

Influenced by these motives, the duke furnished the regent with a strong body of troops, which enabled him to make head against the enemy, and reduce several places in the Isle of France, by the garrisons of which the citizens of Paris were greatly incommoded.

Soon after, the duke of Burgundy himself invaded France with a formidable army, and, after having subdued Torsy and Soissons, laid siege to Compeigne, which was defended by Flavy, with a numerous garrison, and well furnished with stores and ammunition.

Upon the first news of this enterprize, the Maid of Orleans and Xaintrailles threw themselves into the place, to the great chagrin of the governor, who could not endure to be deprived of any part of the glory that might be acquired in the defence.

On

On the twenty-fifth day of May Joan made a sally, and fought with her wonted courage and resolution; but, being forced to retire, she put herself in the rear, in order to cover the retreat of her troops. Having effectually accomplished this purpose, she endeavoured to follow them into the city; but found the gates shut, and the bridge drawn up, by order, as was supposed, of the governor, who, jealous of her glory and reputation, is said to have taken this ungenerous method of betraying her into the hands of the besiegers.

Joan being thus abandoned by her friends, and encompassed by her enemies, surrendered to the bastard of Vendome, who immediately delivered her to the count de Ligny, the Burgundian general. When the regent heard of her being taken, he demanded her of his allies, with so much importunity that they could not possibly deny his request, though he was obliged to gratify them with a very valuable present.

As this woman had been the cause of that surprising revolution which had almost ruined the English affairs in France, the duke resolved to undeceive the world with regard to the divinity of her mission, hoping, by this means, to revive the spirits of his countrymen, and deprive the enemy of those advantages which they had hitherto reaped

ed from this ridiculous but successful delusion.

With this view, he sent her to Roüen to be tried for witchcraft; and, after a long examination, the ecclesiastical judges condemned her, as an heretic, to do penance all the rest of her life, on bread and water.* Soon after, the same judges, on pretence that she had relapsed into her former errors, delivered her over to the secular arm, to be burned alive; and this cruel and unjust sentence was literally executed, in the old market-place of Roüen, on the thirtieth day of May.

Thus fell this admirable heroine, a sacrifice to the barbarous policy, or bigotted superstition of the English, after having performed such noble achievements in defending the liberty and independence of her country, as must strongly recommend her to the esteem of every humane and generous mind.

The fate of Joan, as might naturally be expected, was very prejudicial to the affairs of Charles, who, besides, was so much distressed for want of money, that he could not support an army in the field.

Nor was Henry himself in a much better condition: for his French subjects were not only

* A. D. 1431.

only reduced to extreme poverty, but were generally averse to his title and government; and the people of England were heartily tired of a war which seemed to be as endless as it was expensive.

While both parties were in this weak condition, the war was carried on in petty skirmishes and slight incursions. The French found means to get possession of Chartres, by causing a waggon, which was loaded with wine, to be overturned under the portcullis. The English, on the other hand, surprized Montargis, by maintaining a correspondence with a young woman of the town, who persuaded her lover, a barber, to admit them through a postern gate.

Charles was concerned in another war, besides that which he maintained with Henry. René, second son of Lewis II. king of Sicily and duke of Anjou, having succeeded to the dutchy of Bar, by the death of his uncle the cardinal de Bar, and marquis of Pont-a-Mousson, endeavoured likewise to make himself master of Lorraine, on the decease of the duke his fathe-in-law; but in this he was opposed by Anthony, count de Vaudemont, son of Frederic the younger brother of duke Charles, who alledged that he had a preferable title.

This quarrel occasioned a war, in which the French king assisted the party of René, who

who was his brother-in law, while the cause of his competitor was supported by the duke of Burgundy.

On the second day of July, the two princes meeting at Bulegneville, a bloody battle ensued, in which René was defeated, taken, and carried to Dijon; and twelve hundred French troops being slain in the action, Charles was rendered incapable of undertaking any enterprize of importance against the English.

While Henry was in France, pope Eugenius II. sent thither the cardinal of Santa Cruz to effect, if possible, an accommodation between the two monarchs; and that legate persuaded them to send ambassadors to Auxerre; but as the English refused to acknowledge the plenipotentiaries of Charles for the ambassadors of France, the conferences were never opened.

Notwithstanding this disappointment the cardinal still persisted in his endeavours, and another meeting was appointed in the course of the following year; but as they could not agree about the place, this negotiation proved as abortive as the former.

Henry left Paris immediately after Christmas, and repaired to Roüen as a place of greater safety; but he had well nigh been surprized in that city, by the treachery of one Peter Audebeauf, a native of Bearne, engaged

engaged in the English service, who admitted one hundred and twenty men, conducted by one Ricarville, into the great tower of the castle.

To support these, a strong body of troops had approached within a league of the place; but the officers differing among themselves about the manner of dividing the booty which they hoped to procure, refused to obey the command of their leader, and the whole number marched back to Beauvois.

Those who had been introduced into the tower, were forced to yield themselves prisoners; and Henry's governors, apprehensive of some other attempt of the like nature, conducted him immediately to England, where the animosity between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal still continued to rage with redoubled violence.

In the parliament of the foregoing year, the cardinal had secured the commons so effectually in his interest, that he gained a considerable advantage over his adversary, who had endeavoured to ruin him in his absence. They had presented a petition to his majesty, praying, that in consideration of the great services the cardinal had done the state, he should indulge him with a full pardon for whatever he might have done

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contrary to the laws, particularly to the statutes of *premunire*.*

Notwithstanding this petition, which he readily granted, the duke still continued to prosecute his favourite object. He affirmed, that he had evidence sufficient to prove the cardinal guilty of high treason ; a crime which could not be included in the general pardon he had obtained. Winchester, who at that time was engaged in Flanders in managing the king's affairs, returned to London without permission, and the duke laid hold of that pretext for seizing his baggage.

Next day the cardinal appeared in the house of lords, where he declared he was come over to vindicate his conduct, and assert his innocence, against any person who should dare to impeach his integrity. As Gloucester did not think proper to support what he had alledged, he was acknowledged as a faithful subject by the united voice of the whole parliament, and this approbation was drawn up in a formal deed, at his own request.

He then complained that his baggage had been seized at Sandwich, and insisted that it should be immediately restored. He offered to deposit six thousand marks in the king's

king's hands for six years ; and if, in that time, it should appear, upon a fair and equitable trial, that the baggage had been justly seized, the money should be forfeited to the use of his majesty. He likewise offered to lend him as much more, and delay the demand of thirteen thousand marks already due to him, on condition that the payment of the whole should be assigned out of the first subsidy that should be granted.

His proposals were embraced, and his baggage restored ; and the duke of Gloucester, instead of being able to hurt his character, had the mortification to find that his conduct was approved by both houses of parliament.

The attention of the English was so much engrossed by these frivolous disputes, that the prosecution of the French war was entirely neglected ; though the present juncture afforded them a favourable opportunity of repairing the losses they had suffered, and retrieving the credit of their arms.

Charles, by no means of a warlike genius, and naturally of an amorous disposition, consumed his whole time in the embraces of his mistress, Agnes Sorrel, and devolved the care of his most important concerns upon his ministers and generals.

This habit of indolence and debauchery, was commonly ascribed to the pernicious counsels of his favourite, La Tremouille ; but this was far from being the case. Charles began to be displeased with this minister, and grow uneasy under the yoke he had imposed.

The constable, apprised of this change in the king's affections, resolved to treat La Tremouille in the same manner as he had used Louvet, De Giac, and Beaulieu ; and, having secured the interest of the courtiers, who were all professed enemies of the minister, he caused him to be seized in his bed, at Chinon, within the king's palace, and conducted to prison at Montresor.

Charles was highly provoked at this act of violence, which he solemnly swore he would never forgive ; but when he found that all the princes of the blood, and all the nobles of his court, were determined to support the constable, he thought it most adviseable to suppress his indignation.

He remembered the confederacy which had been formed against him in the case of Louvet, and dreaded a renewal of the same combination ; and, as he hated the minister in his heart, he was easily persuaded to give him up to the vengeance of his enemies. Charles of Anjou, the queen's brother, soon supplied the place of the favourite, and according

cording to the constable's plan, became the prime minister.

It is natural to think, that a prince of this character could not have proved a very formidable enemy to the duke of Bedford, if this last had been furnished with sufficient reinforcements from England. But for some time past he had not received a single battalion; so that he could not keep the field without depriving the places of their garrisons, and either exposing them to the danger of a surprize, or leaving them at liberty to declare for Charles.

In the beginning of the year, the regent sent the earl of Arundel and the marechal de Lisle-Adam to besiege Lagny in the neighbourhood of Paris, which had been taken by Foucaut, but the garrison made such a vigorous defence, that they were obliged to relinquish the enterprize.

In the month of July, Bedford laid siege to it in person, with an army of six thousand men; but notwithstanding all his vigilance and precaution, the Bastard of Orleans found means to throw succours into the place; and the duke suspecting that he carried on some secret correspondence with the Parisians, quitted the siege and returned to the capital.

A small party of French troops, drawn from different garrisons, took the town of Montargis by assault; but the castle made such a resolute defence, that they were obliged to abandon their conquest. In Normandy twelve hundred English troops besieged La Hire in Louviers; and after a blockade of three months, compelled him to surrender.

These events, however, were of little importance in comparison of that which happened on the thirteenth day of November. This was the death of Anne of Burgundy, dutchess of Bedford, which was not more afflictive to her husband, than it was prejudicial to the whole English nation, as it entirely dissolved that bond of union which subsisted between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy; and the mutual animosity which succeeded their friendship was fatal to the interest of England.

In the beginning of the year,* there was a dangerous insurrection of the peasants in Normandy, who taking up arms to the number of sixty thousand, two thirds of these invaded the Vexin; and the other body of twenty thousand attacked Caen, which, together with Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebone, they soon reduced.

The

• A. D. 1433.

The earl of Arundel was no sooner informed of this insurrection, than he advanced against those who had fallen into the Vexin, and attacking them in the night, obtained an easy victory.

It might have been more difficult to reduce those in Caen as they were headed by the mareschal de Rieux ; but they were so terrified at the fate of their companions, that they immediately dispersed, and the greatest part of them returned to their own habitations. The mareschal, with a few of the most courageous, threw himself into Dieppe, which, together with Harfleur, was still in the hands of Charles, though Arundel recovered Caen and Lillebonne.

In the course of this year, the duke of Bedford espoused Jaquelina of Luxembourg, daughter of James count of St. Pol ; a match that gave great offence to the duke of Burgundy, who not only considered it as an affront to the memory of his sister so lately deceased, but also resented the regent's marrying the daughter of his vassal, without his knowledge or consent.

The cardinal of England endeavoured to compromise this quarrel, and effect a reconciliation. He prevailed upon both parties to agree to an interview at St. Omer, where all their differences might be accommodated

ed in a friendly manner; but when they came to the place, a fresh dispute arose about the ceremony of rank and precedence.

Neither of them would yield to the other in point of punctilio; and they parted inflamed with greater rancour and animosity than ever. It is more than probable, that the duke of Burgundy had already resolved to desert the English interest, and laid hold of this pretext for breaking with the regent; though he determined to have it in his power to extort such terms from Charles as he should think proper to prescribe; and for that reason he still continued his hostilities. He reduced St. Valery, Ham, Laon, and Provins; and the earl of Arundel subdued Silley-le-Guillaume, in the province of Maine.

By this time the people of England were heartily tired of the war, and were extremely desirous of procuring a fair and equitable peace; and the duke of Orleans, who still remained a prisoner at London, had offered to exert his utmost endeavours in effecting a treaty, on which all his hopes of liberty depended.

He proposed that the queen dowager of Sicily, her son Charles of Anjou, the duke of Brittany, with his brothers the counts of Richemont, and St. Gilles, the duke of Alençon,

Alençon, the counts of Armagnac, Foix, Perdriac, Clermont, and the archbishop of Rheims, should meet the plenipotentiaries of England at Calais, or any other place which the English council should think proper to chuse ; and he begged that he might be allowed to assist at the congress, in order to forward the negotiation.

At the same time he presented a set of articles, which were so much for the advantage of England, that the council accepted his proposal without hesitation ; and he signed, sealed, and swore to the performance of the treaty, which he had projected.

Safe-conducts were granted to the queen dowager of Sicily, and the other persons mentioned in his proposal ; the conference was to be held in the month of October ; and the council appointed commissioners to treat with the plenipotentiaries of Charles. The duke of Orleans carried on a secret correspondence with the court of France, whose design was to impose upon the council of England.

The articles of a separate peace between Charles and the duke of Burgundy were already settled, under the mediation of the constable of Richemont, who had an interview with the duke at Nevers, on pretence of compromising a dispute between that prince and the count de Clermont ; and nothing

nothing was wanting but an opportunity to complete and ratify the treaty.

With this view they proposed the plan of a congress for a general peace, well knowing that the English would never agree to the terms that would be offered; and their refusal would afford the duke a plausible pretext for making a separate agreement.

To this motive we ought to ascribe the magnificent promises made by the duke of Orleans to the king of England, in case the negociation should prove abortive. They were sensible that nothing was so likely to induce Henry's council to agree to a conference, as the hope of its being attended with some advantage to England, even though it should not succeed; and the duke of Bedford, as well as the council, being utterly ignorant of the private accommodation between the duke of Burgundy and Charles, were the more easily drawn into the snare.*

As soon as they had agreed to the congress, the duke of Burgundy, who still pretended to adhere to his English alliance, managed matters with so much address, that, instead of Calais, they appointed Arras for the place of meeting, to which all the

the parties concerned proposed to send their ambassadors.

Mean while, the two kings were too weak to keep the field with regular armies, and the war degenerated into slight skirmishes and petty excursions. The French having taken Rue in Picardy, the earl of Arundel resolved to recover the place ; but being informed in his march, that the enemy were fortifying Herberois and Beauvois, he thought it most adviseable to drive them thence before the works could be completed, and accordingly he invested the town.

Hearing that Vignolles and Xaintrailles were approaching with twelve hundred men to its relief, he raised the siege and gave them battle. In this action, which was bloody and desperate, he was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and in a few days expired, to the great sorrow of the duke of Bedford, who sincerely lamented him as one of the bravest generals, and most accomplished noblemen in England.

The count de Clermont, who had now succeeded to the title of duke of Bourbon, by the death of his father, got possession of Corbeil and Brie- Comté- Robert, by corrupting the governor ; and a Scottish officer took Vincennes, which, however, he could not maintain.

At

At length, Talbot arriving from England with a body of three or four thousand men, to whom he joined some troops drawn from garrisons, became master of the field, and recovered Beaumont, Creil, and several other places, without meeting with the least opposition from the enemy.

The congress of Arras, which was now approaching, attracted the attention of all Europe ; and there was hardly a sovereign prince, but what sent ambassadors to assist at the conference. The cardinal de Santa Cruz represented his holiness, while the cardinals of Cyprus and Arles appeared for the council of Basil. Charles sent seventeen plenipotentiaries, at the head of whom was the constable of Richemont ; and Henry appointed twenty-seven for France and England, of whom the duke of Burgundy was the chief.*

This mark of confidence is a plain proof, that the English council entertained no suspicion of the treachery of this prince ; but they soon received intelligence, that he had desired the pope to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to king Henry V. They were no sooner apprised of this circumstance, than they wrote to his holiness on the subject ; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, declared that no French

French prince had ever applied to him for such a favour; and that, for the future, he would behave in such a manner as to give the king of England no just cause of offence.

The conferences were opened on the fifth day of August, with the proposals of Charles, whose ambassadors offered to Henry all Normandy and Guienne, provided he would renounce his claim to the crown of France, and swear fealty for these two provinces.

The English plenipotentiaries, equally surprized and enraged at a proposal so utterly inconsistent with the articles which the duke of Orleans had adjusted, broke off the conference immediately, and retired without condescending to give an answer.

Their sudden departure furnished the duke of Burgundy with a pretext for making a separate agreement. He said that he was not obliged to follow their humour, nor to gratify their pride, by protracting the war to his own disadvantage. The pope's legate absolved him of the oaths he had taken to the late and the present king of England; and his treaty with Charles was soon confirmed, as all the articles had been previously settled.

Charles bound himself, by this treaty, to ask pardon of Philip, either in person or by his delegates, for the murder of his father, as a crime which had been committed in his youth, by the pernicious advice of evil counsellors; to deliver up all the murderers, to be punished with the utmost rigour and severity; to found chapels and masses for the souls of the duke of Burgundy, and his attendants who fell with him; to repair all the losses sustained by such as were taken on the day of the assassination; to erect a cross on the bridge where it was perpetrated, and to pay fifty thousand crowns in gold, as an equivalent for the duke's baggage, which was pillaged at his murder.

He consented to yield to Philip and his heirs, the cities and counties of Boulogne, Sur-Mer, Macon, St. Jangout, and Auxerre, with all their dependences, together with all the taxes called aids, imposed upon those parts of Macon, Chalons, Autun, and Langres, that lay within Burgundy; and the castles, towns, and districts, of Bar-sur-Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, and all their appendages: the whole county of Ponthieu, Dourlens, St. Risquier, Creve-cour, Arleux, Mortagne, St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, were mortgaged to Philip and his heirs, until four hundred

hundred thousand crowns should be paid for their redemption.

Philip himself was freed from doing homage for these territories during the life of Charles, as were his vassals from obeying the summons of Charles without his order. The French king engaged to assist him, in case he should be attacked by the English; and both parties agreed to conclude no peace with the enemy, without the consent of each other.

The duke's vassals, and others who had borne St. Andrew's cross, which was the ensign of Burgundy, were not to be obliged to serve under any other; and a general amnesty was passed, in favour of all persons except the assassins aforementioned.

Both parties renounced all alliances to the prejudice of one another; and, by letters patent, declared their respective subjects absolved from their allegiance to him who should violate this treaty. The princes of the blood in France, and the noblemen of Burgundy, ratified this agreement, under their hands and seals; and, on the fifth day of November, it was confirmed by the council of Basil, which denounced the sentences of excommunication and interdict, against that prince who should infringe the articles.

During the congress at Arras, the inhabitants of Houdan, St. Denys, Pontoise, Melun, Pont St. Maixance, and Meulan, surrendered voluntarily to Charles : the duke of Bedford recovered St. Denys, and caused the walls of it to be demolished ; but he was forced to raise the siege of Meulan by the bastard of Orleans, and Espernay fell into the hands of the French.

Isabel, queen dowager of France, observing the great success of her son Charles, to whom she bore an irreconcileable hatred, and the desperate condition of the English interest, to which she was particularly attached, died of grief at Paris, very little lamented by the French, who considered her as the principal cause of all those miseries and calamities with which the kingdom had been so long oppressed.

Her death was of very little consequence to either party ; but this was not the case with that of the regent, who expired in the castle of Rouen, on the fourteenth day of September, universally regretted by the English, who considered him not only as the chief support of their interest in France, but likewise as an honour to the country that gave him birth.

The character of this prince is strongly delineated in the course of his administration : it is hard to say, whether he shone most

most in the field or the cabinet; whether he was a greater hero or politician: he was certainly possessed of all those qualities which enter into the composition of an accomplished general and an able statesman. He maintained the war with France, for a number of years, almost without any assistance from England; and, had he been properly supported, he would, in all probability, have completed the conquest of that kingdom, which, though naturally an enemy to his success, universally esteemed and admired him for his valour, equity, and moderation.*

As soon as the news of his death arrived in England, the regency of France was bestowed upon Richard Plantagenet, duke of York; but Henry duke of Somerset, who aspired to the same dignity, raised such an opposition against him in the council, that

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* There cannot be a stronger proof of the esteem and veneration in which the memory of this excellent prince was held even by his enemies, than the reply which Lewis XI. son of Charles VII. gave to one of his courtiers, who advised him to demolish the monument of Bedford, which is still to be seen in the church of Notre Dame, in Rouen: "God forbid," said Lewis, "that I should be guilty of such a base and ungenerous action, as to disturb the ashes of a prince, who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us all to tremble: I rather wish that a more stately monument were erected to his honour."

his patent was not expedited for seven months, during which the adherents of Charles extended their conquests without opposition.

The English were highly incensed at the defection of the duke of Burgundy, whom they upbraided as a perfidious traitor. That prince however sent over two heralds to England, to apologize for his conduct in having concluded a separate peace, by alledging that his people were no longer able to support the expence of the war, and to offer his good offices for effecting an accommodation between France and England.

His offer was rejected with contempt and indignation: the council would not deign to give an answer to his letter: his heralds were not allowed to stir abroad; and the populace of London were inflamed to such a degree of fury, that they massacred several Flemings and Burgundians, and pillaged their houses, until they were suppressed by proclamation, and protections granted to those who were settled in England.

In all probability, these insults and outrages were far from being disagreeable to the duke of Burgundy, as they gave him a plausible pretence for declaring against the

the English, and joining his forces with those of Charles.

In the month of March,* he sent a body of five hundred men at arms to the constable of Richemont, who having collected an army of six or seven thousand men, advanced directly to Paris, where the partisans of Charles and the duke of Burgundy had already formed a considerable party. He soon reduced most of the small places in the neighbourhood of that city; and then encamped before one of the gates, where continual interviews were held between his troops and the inhabitants, notwithstanding all the care and circumspection of Robert lord Willoughby, who commanded the English garrison, which did not exceed fifteen hundred men.

On the thirteenth day of April, the citizens suddenly rose in arms, while the mareschal l'Isle Adam scaled the walls; and when the garrison endeavoured to repel the assailants, they were overwhelmed with a shower of stones from the windows, while the whole city echoed with repeated acclamations of " Long live the king and the duke of Burgundy."

The governour, unable to oppose such a multitude of enemies, retired to the Bastile; and chains immediately were drawn across

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* A. D. 1436.

the streets to prevent his return. In the mean time l'Isle Adam opened the gates to the constable, who entered the city without resistance. Lord Willoughby might have defended himself for a considerable time in the Bastile, had it been properly furnished with stores and ammunition; but finding it entirely destitute of every thing necessary for a siege, he was obliged to capitulate on the third day, and marching out with the honours of war, retired to Rouen.

The duke of York, having at last received his commission of regent, landed in Normandy with a body of eight thousand men, and recovered many small places and castles, which the French had taken since the death of the duke of Bedford.

Mean while he received advice that the duke of Burgundy was making great preparations for a siege; and suspecting that he intended to attack Calais, wrote to the council, desiring them to put the place in a proper posture of defence.

While they were taking the necessary measures for this purpose, the duke laid siege to the town with an army of fifty thousand men; and this circumstance being known in England, inflamed still farther the rancour of the nation against that prince, whom they loaded with every opprobrious epithet.

Orders

Orders were forthwith issued to assemble an army of fifteen thousand men for the relief of the place ; and the command of it was given to the duke of Gloucester, who, together with the lord Beaumont, was indulged by Henry with grants of all the lands belonging to the house of Burgundy in France and Flanders. The levies being completed, the duke of Gloucester set sail, and landed in Normandy about six weeks after the duke of Burgundy had opened his trenches.

He had not yet made much progress in his operations ; but, on the contrary, had received some severe checks from the garrison which had frequently sallied forth upon the besiegers, many of whom they had put to the sword. Part of his fleet which blocked up the place by sea, having been run aground by the ignorance of the pilot, was set on fire and utterly destroyed : A wooden fort erected by the besiegers, and well provided with military stores, was taken by the English, and all the Flemings found in it were cut to pieces : and to complete his chagrin, the duke of Gloucester, before his departure from England, sent an herald to challenge him to battle.

The End of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

